

METHODIST

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1868.

ART. I.—GREEK TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

[FIRST ARTICLE.]

An Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament; with Remarks on its Revision upon Critical Principles. Together with a Collation of the Critical Texts of Griesbach, Scholz, Lachmann, and Tischendorf, with that in common use. By SAMUEL PRIDEAUX TREGELLES, LL.D. London. 1854.

H KAINH ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. *Novum Testamentum cum Lectionibus Variantibus MSS. Exemplarium, Versionum, Editionum, SS Patrum et Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum; et in Easdem Notis. Studio et Labore JOANNIS MILLII, S. T. P. Oxonii: MDCCCVII.*

Novum Testamentum Græce. Ad antiquos testes denno recensuit apparatus criticum omni studio perfectum apposuit commentationem isagogicam prætexuit A. F. CONST. TISCHENDORF. Lipsiæ. 1859.

A Dictionary of the Bible. Edited by WILLIAM SMITH, LL.D. Article, "New Testament." Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1863.

Notitia Editionis Bibliorum Sinaitici Auspiciis Imperatoris Alexandri II., susceptæ edidit A. F. CONST. TISCHENDORF. Lipsiæ, 1860.

Novum Testamentum Vaticanum. Post Angelum Maii Aliorumque imperfectos labores ex ipso codice edidit A. F. CONST. TISCHENDORF. Lipsiæ. 1867.

BIBLICAL criticism aims at ascertaining the precise words of Holy Scripture as they stood in the original autographs of the sacred writers. Those words were true, authoritative, inspired. Were those autographs producible, they would at once settle the whole question of the text to which the lives of some of the noblest scholars of the last three centuries have been given; but they long since perished. Copies made directly from them would be received with nearly the same confidence which would be given to the originals, a confidence which evidently must diminish as the remoteness of the copy increases. For transcriptions without error are next to the impossible, even with the utmost care; and in cases of documents much multi-

plied they naturally become, in the course of centuries, very numerous. Now, about twelve hundred Greek MSS. of the New Testament, including fragments, are known to be in existence, none of which is older than the fourth century, and but few older than the tenth. Several translations were made in the second and third centuries from copies which have perished; and extracts are found in the writings of the early Christian fathers. These have also suffered from transmission through the hands of transcribers. Such are the documents which must be employed to ascertain the Scriptures read by the early Christians.

Were but a single MS. known it could be received only as approximatively correct by those who are familiar with the fate of all ancient books, and he would deem himself happy who might be able, by newly-discovered documents, to verify or correct its readings. Our printed text was formed almost as if but one MS. were in existence; while the researches of scholars have discovered variations in MSS. since examined, amounting to at least a hundred and twenty thousand. They confirm the common text as a whole, so that infidelity long since ceased its assaults upon it; they also show some errors, and furnish the means of correcting them.

All questions of theology are outside of the operations of textual criticism. Christianity in its facts and doctrines must rest upon the naked language employed by the original writers. The labor is to ascertain that exact language, even to the insertion of an article, the orthography of a word, the inflection of a noun, the mood and tense of a verb, so that we shall have "the words which the Holy Ghost teacheth." Whatever has since become incorporated into the text is of no account, and should be cast aside. No important fact, no essential doctrine of Christianity, as received by us, has been as yet touched. That the account of the woman taken in adultery (John viii, 3-11) was not written by John, does not affect the fact of the wisdom and tenderness of Jesus. If it be found necessary to substitute $\delta\varsigma$ for $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ in 1 Tim. iii, 16, the doctrine of the essential divinity of our blessed Lord will not be in the least shaken any more than is the doctrine of the Trinity by the rejection of 1 John v, 7, 8, the *experimentum crucis* of an orthodox text from the time of Erasmus down for more than two centuries.

Were it otherwise, and were we receiving as true doctrines which the genuine text does not teach, only the wildest fanaticism would refuse the most rigid investigation. While no rash hand should be allowed to touch the sacred text, no fears of the timid or wails of the bigot should deter honest Christians from studious and diligent search to know in what words God has clothed his speech to men. It is a matter of regret that the steps of scholars in this study have been watched with a jealousy and prejudice that linger to the present day; while it is reasonable that they whose faith rests upon the word of God should desire to know beyond a doubt what that word really is.

We propose to sketch briefly the progress of these studies as connected with the printed text of the Greek New Testament.

The history is divisible, with a tolerable distinctness, into THREE PERIODS. The FIRST may be called that of the formation of the received text; the SECOND, that of investigation and collection of materials for criticism; and the THIRD, that of the employment of these materials in the reconstruction of the text.

I. More than half a century had elapsed after the invention of the art of printing, the ancient learning had revived, the Greek language and literature were fast winning their way through Western Europe, when Cardinal XIMENES DE CISNEROS, Archbishop of Toledo, conceived the plan of the Complutensian Polyglot, with which he intended to celebrate the birth of the prince known to history as the Emperor Charles V. The Jews, who had both money and skill, had for twenty years possessed their printed Hebrew Scriptures; but for Christians, who had for centuries depended on the Vulgate, the Latin had become a sacred language. Theologians were content with it, and only a few scholars scattered here and there pretended to feel any interest in the original Greek. A few fragments only had been printed. The first, so far as now known, was the hymns of Mary and Zacharias, (Luke i, 46-55, 68-80,) in 1456; the next, eighteen years later, consisted of the first six chapters of St. John's Gospel; and a third, in 1514, contained the first fourteen verses of the same Gospel.

Cardinal Ximenes, the renowned and powerful ecclesiastic and statesman, the founder and builder of the University of

Alcala, attained an honorable immortality from the preparation of his Polyglot, the title of which was taken from *Complutum*, the Latin name of Alcala. The announcement of his plan, in 1502, produced great alarm in not a few minds, lest the innovation might do harm to the Church. But the man who could point the haughty grandees of Spain to a park of artillery for his "credentials" to the regency of the kingdom, would not be readily dismayed by any opposition to his project, or disturbed by the apprehensions of the timid. The fifth volume, which contained the New Testament, and was the first one printed, was finished January 10, 1514, though the whole work was not completed until three years and a half later.

Of the four editors employed on the New Testament, López de Stunica was the one particularly intrusted with the preparation of the Greek text, but under the direction and at the expense of Ximenes himself. What MSS. were used is not known, notwithstanding the great inquiry made for them in subsequent years. Both Ximenes and the editors agreed in saying that they were sent to Alcala by Pope Leo X.; but the preface also asserted that they were "very ancient and correct, and of such antiquity that it would be utterly wrong not to own their authority." It was, not unnaturally, inferred that the celebrated Codex Vaticanus was among them, and that the Complutensian might therefore be relied on almost as if it were the MS. itself. As investigation proceeded, however, it was found that where MSS. of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries differed from those of most ancient date, and from the citations of the early Greek fathers, the Complutensian usually agreed with the former, thus proving its text to have been formed from modern MSS. alone. The competency of the editors to judge of the antiquity and value of their authorities may be easily doubted; but they are credible as to their source. It is now known that Ximenes possessed no Greek MSS. whatever of the New Testament, and it is believed that only modern MSS. were employed, and that they were procured from Leo, but returned as soon as the Polyglot was completed. The question became an important one only from the part borne by the Complutensian in the formation of the received text.

The standard of this edition was the Vulgate, which the editors had in so high veneration, that in preparing the Old Testament they placed it in the central column, between the Hebrew and the LXX., "between the synagogue and the Oriental Church." Such a veneration accounts for several changes of the Greek text to suit the Vulgate, among which is the alteration in 1 John v, 7, 8, interpolating the testimony of the heavenly witnesses, and omitting the concluding words of the eighth verse. From the Complutensian it has found its way into our Bibles, where it still stands. "You must know," wrote Stunica to Erasmus, "that the copies of the Greeks are corrupt; that *ours*, however, contain the very truth." The Vulgate was the only version employed, and even that as it had come from the hands of transcribers for over a thousand years. Any comparison of the text with existing quotations from the fathers does not appear to have been thought of. The time for such labor, or even for a perception of its necessity, had not come. The science of biblical criticism was not yet born. But notwithstanding its defects as measured by the critical standard of a later day, the work performed by Ximenes was truly great, and a wonderful achievement for the age in which he lived. The Complutensian text never came into general use, for, although printed in 1514, it was not published till 1520, more than two years after the Cardinal's death, and even then only six hundred copies were issued. But previous to that date, two editions of Erasmus, amounting to thirty-three hundred copies, had been put in circulation; and a third was issued before the Complutensian made its way across the Pyrenees.

Froben, the printer of Basle, having heard of the work in preparation in Spain, resolved to anticipate it by the publication of the Greek Testament in Germany. It was, on his part, a purely publishing speculation, which promised to be a successful one if he could secure the services of the right man as editor. His mind at once turned to ERASMUS, who had, in the midst of vast literary labors, given some attention to the Greek text, and had also prepared a revised Latin translation with annotations. Erasmus was at the time in England. The proposition, made him through a friend, asking his editorial care not only for this but for other works, reached him in

April, 1515, and was at first refused; but on a repetition by the determined Froben was accepted. Erasmus arrived at Basle in the summer, but the details of the printing were not settled until September, and yet the work was published in February, 1516. Such was the haste in which the work was executed: "*precipitatum verius quam editum*," says Erasmus. Severely taxed as he already was with an edition of the works of Jerome, besides other literary labors, not much time could have been given to a scrutiny of the text, which if at all rigid would have been of itself a sufficient task for the five months of its progress through the press. The work was dedicated to Pope Leo X., to whom a copy was sent, and from whom a letter of thanks was received in return. Many theologians and scholars gladly welcomed its appearance, while others assailed it in unmeasured terms and on every possible ground. Side by side, in parallel columns, stood the Greek and his revised Latin translation. Had it contained the Greek alone, or even with the unamended Vulgate, it would have escaped with little opposition; but the substitution of his own version in place of the Vulgate was an offense of unpardonable magnitude. The cry of presumption and heresy was raised; while his subjoined notes in justification of his proceedings only added to the displeasure of his critics. Stunica was exceedingly bitter. A copy had reached Alcalá before the death of Ximenes, showing both patron and editor that their edition had been forestalled, but producing very different effects upon their minds. Stunica sought to disparage the work of Erasmus; but the Cardinal, though aware that a share of his deserved glory was gone, nobly checked him, exclaiming, "I would that all might thus prophesy; produce what is better if thou canst; do not condemn the industry of another." In the controversies which followed, Stunica attacked Erasmus with some reason, pointing out some things which really needed correction. Lee, afterward Archbishop of York, exhibited ignorance as well as impertinence, insisting that he should have condemned his MSS. as worthless for not containing texts which they *ought* to have contained.

As this work is the foundation of our commonly-received text, it is important to note its history with some care. Scholars are able to judge of the value of the MSS. employed by

Erasmus, as, with a single exception, they are now to be seen at Basle, and among them the two (one of the Gospels, and the other of the Acts and the Epistles) used by the compositors, still bearing his corrections, and the printers' marks. "The MS. of the Gospels," says Tregelles, "is of exceedingly little value." Of two others, one of the Gospels and another of the Epistles, the first agrees with the ancient MSS., and is pronounced to be of "great value;" but Erasmus made little use of it, because its readings differed so greatly from those of the other copies that he suspected it to have been changed from the Latin. Distrusting the Vulgate, he naturally distrusted this, and therein made two mistakes. For the Apocalypse he had but a single MS., badly mutilated, often unintelligible from the intermixture of the text with the commentary upon it, and entirely deficient in the last six verses. Taking the Vulgate for a guide rather than a helper, he amended his text in accordance with it, or translated from it to supply deficiencies, as the Complutensian editors had done, only more freely. His own notes afford sufficient evidence of these interpolations. He found Acts viii, 37 only in the margin of a single MS., but concluding it to have been omitted through carelessness in transcription, he inserted it in full as if undoubtedly genuine; and so to this day we read, "And Philip said, If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest. And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God." So also Acts ix, 5, 6, "It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks. And he, trembling and astonished, said, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do? and the Lord said unto him," which is found in no Greek MS. whatsoever, and has no claim to be considered part of Holy Scripture, was inserted from the Vulgate on mere conjecture, and has been perpetuated in our Bibles as genuine. But he did not insert 1 John v, 7, 8; and this was the ground of some of the severest attacks upon his edition. He was accused of omitting it from the text; and to his reply that his MSS. did not contain it, that it was not found in some Latin copies, and that Cyril of Alexandria knew nothing of it, as was manifest from his citation of the context, the retort was ready that the words *ought* to have been there. The doctrine was surely true, and, therefore, the passage must be genuine. Erasmus at length promised to insert it in the text whenever a

single Greek MS. containing it should be produced. In 1518, the Aldine edition, a reprint of this work, appeared at Venice, with about two hundred changes, partly from error, and partly from MS. authority. Erasmus, unaware that it was a reprint, although it was dedicated to himself, employed it in preparing his next edition, restoring from it the last verses of the Revelation. His second edition was published in March, 1519. The text is changed in about four hundred places, including errata arising from the haste in which the first was executed. With comparative leisure for its preparation, it was much more perfect than the former, though a large part of the labor expended was upon the Latin version. The third edition appeared in 1522. The text was corrected in one hundred and eighteen places, thirty-six of which were taken from the Aldine reprint. 1 John v, 7, is inserted, not from conviction, but in redemption of his promise, and to remove all handle for calumny, on the authority of a MS. found in England, known as the Codex Montfortianus. It was manifestly translated from the Latin, as had been done by the editors of the Complutensian, but by a person not skillful enough to insert the article before *πατήρ*, *λόγος*, and *πνεῦμα*. In subsequent editions it took on a grammatical form, which it retains to this day.*

Soon after the appearance of this third edition Erasmus obtained a copy of the Complutensian, from which he corrected the text for the fourth edition in one hundred places, ninety of which were in the Apocalypse alone. The fourth edition differed further from its predecessors in publishing the Vulgate in connection with the Greek, and the Latin version of Erasmus. The fifth edition was published in 1535, the year before his death, differing only in four places from the fourth, which had been issued in 1527.

Thus was laid the basis of the received text. The New Testament was printed as were other ancient works; the MSS. in possession of the editor, or which he could most readily procure, were employed. The materials used were few and comparatively modern, and in a more critical age a better use would have been made of them; but it was a great work to give to the world this portion of Holy Scripture in its original

*The reader may see a fac-simile of the passage as it stands in the Cod. Mont., and also in the Complutensian, in Dr. A. Clarke's Commentary, *in loco*.

language. Erasmus ardently desired its translation for the common people, "such as the Scots and Irish," and its wide diffusion among all Christians as the only sure foundation of their faith.

It is to Paris that we must look for the next steps in our history. In 1543 Colinaeus (Simon de Colines) issued a Greek Testament, in which the Erasmian text was amended in about one hundred and fifty places on the authority of MSS. which he had himself examined; but no pretense was made to a thorough collation. It seems to have never attained any wide influence. But in 1546 and 1549 ROBERT STEPHENS published two editions, substantially the same, and known as the "*O mirificam* edition," from the first words of the preface: "*O mirificam regis nostri optimi et præstantissimi principis liberalitatem.*" The king had furnished a new font of type for the work. The text was made from the Complutensian and Erasmus, with a strong leaning to the latter, while fresh MS. authority was followed in only thirty-seven places. Stephens's great edition, the third in order, was a folio, issued in 1550, known as the *Regia*. The fifth of Erasmus was made the basis of the text, while his authorities consisted of the Complutensian and fifteen distinct MSS., of which the Codex Bezae (D) was the only important one. The changes in the text on any MS. authority were less than thirty; and, except in the Apocalypse, where it follows the Complutensian, "it hardly ever deserts the last edition of Erasmus." To adhere to it, Stephens not unfrequently abandons his former readings and all his MSS., many examples of which have passed into our common text. No critical use, therefore, was made of the two thousand one hundred and ninety-four various readings collected by his son, HENRY STEPHENS, and published in the margin. The collations were far from exact, for the various readings of D alone in the Gospels and Acts exceed Stephens's whole list; and, according to Mill, the Complutensian readings given amount to five hundred and ninety-eight, while more than seven hundred are omitted. Tregelles suspects that he refrained from correcting the text from a fear of provoking the doctors of the Sorbonne, who had ten years before caused him some trouble on account of his amended Vulgate. But their sharp eyes detected the readings of the margin. "*Græcum est, legi non potest,*" was a

good maxim, and they prohibited the edition because of the "annotations." Learning that the dreaded annotations were simply various readings, they demanded the copy from which they had been taken; but to their surprise were informed that they were from many copies, and that they were mostly in the Royal Library at Paris. Stephens then went to Geneva, beyond the jurisdiction of the censors, and there, in 1551, published a fourth edition, with precisely the same text as the third, but giving for the first time the division into verses as they now appear, a plan devised for convenient reference in the Concordance which he had in contemplation.

The next editor in order was THEODORE BEZA, who published five editions, in 1565, 1576, 1582, 1589, and 1598, each containing his own Latin translation and the Vulgate, together with the Greek. He adopted Stephens's text, with a few alterations from such MSS. as were at his command. For his third edition, which was the chief one, he had, besides the collations made for the use of Stephens, two MSS. of the seventh or eighth century, the Codices Bezae, (D) and Claromontanus, (D Epp.) The changes introduced by him into the text were few in number, and for even them, so far at least as he differs from Stephens, but little reason can be found. He mentions various readings with considerable frequency, but values them more for their bearings on dogmatic questions than for their critical value. Nevertheless, his notes clearly show that a passage which ancient authorities rejected or were ignorant of, he regarded as to be suspected. Beza's Testament was, while he yet lived, generally accepted among Protestants. They seemed to feel that the text was sufficiently established, and for a quarter of a century they received traditionally what printers put into their hands. The word of God received a different treatment from that bestowed upon Terence and Ovid.

The ELZEVIRS, printers at Leyden, brought out their first edition in 1624, twenty-six years after the last of Beza. But it is to be especially noted that for the basis of the text they adopted the third edition of Stephens, issued seventy-four years previously, and scarcely differing at all from the fifth of Erasmus, changing it in only two hundred and seventy-eight places, including every minute variation in orthography. Most

of these changes were introduced from Beza; in a few instances, including typographical errors as well as, perhaps, corrections upon MS. authority, neither Stephens nor Beza was followed. Who the editor was is not known; indeed, there seems to have been little done that rendered an editor necessary. The second edition, published in 1633, is considered their best, great care having been taken to give it a beauty of execution, and to remove all typographical errors. In this edition the preface tells the reader that he has now the universally-received text, in which nothing is altered or corrupted: *Textum, ergo habes, nunc ab omnibus receptum; in quo nihil immutatum aut corruptum damus.*

Hence arose the phrase "*Textus Receptus*," which has from that time been employed to denote the Elzeyir text, the text usually reprinted upon the Continent; while Stephens's, substantially the same, has been that in current use in England. The words just quoted, which simply assert that the text was appealed to by Catholics and Protestants alike, came ere long to be understood as claiming for it a conceded correctness which it never had. Inexpressibly great as is its value, it must be confessed that no reliance can be placed upon it as a critical text. It had never passed the ordeal of criticism.

II. The SECOND PERIOD of our history, *the period of collection of materials for criticism*, opens with a change of the scene from the Continent to England. In 1657, more than a century after Stephens issued his last edition of the New Testament, WALTON gave to the world in his Polyglot the first important collection of various readings, consisting of those gathered by Stephens, and those of the Codices Alexandrinus, Bezae, and Claromontanus, together with the collations made under the care of Archbishop Usher. Some of these ultimately proved to be worthless, but the work was a great one for the age. Equally important was his exhibition by the side of the Greek text of the Syriac, Arabic, Æthiopic, and Persian versions, now brought together for the first time. An alarm at once arose lest confidence in the Scriptures should in some way be destroyed, and their authority undermined. Curcellæus in 1658, only one year after the publication of the Polyglot, issued an edition with various readings mingled with theological speculations, which did not tend to diminish the

alarm. With the hope of correcting erroneous notions on the subject, Bishop Fell, of Oxford, published an edition in 1675, giving for the first time the readings of the Coptic and Gothic versions, together with those of various MSS., some of which had not been previously collated. A more important and lasting service, however, was the encouragement which he rendered to the labors of Dr. JOHN MILL.

At about the time of the issue of this work of Fell, the mind of Mill was directed by Dr. Bernard, mathematical professor at Oxford, to the subject of sacred criticism with such force that he devoted himself with ardor to its study, not, however, then proposing any definite use of the results of his labors. Thirty years of severe toil were consecrated to it, accomplishing, as Wetstein afterward testified, "more than all those who had preceded him." It was very much like attempting to sail upon an unexplored, unknown, sea without rudder or compass. A keen eye, a ready hand, a quick brain, he had; but his methods of procedure were to be first invented and then tested; the materials were to be gathered; the principles of most successfully using them were to be discovered. Experience and frequent failures taught him much that, known at the outset, would have facilitated his labors, and saved him from great perplexities. He early found that the Stephanic text differed from the ancient authorities. Walton's Polyglot gave him the opportunity of observing the discrepancies between the Alexandrian MS. and the received text. That document, containing, with some chasms, the entire Greek text of the Old and New Testaments, was presented by Cyril Lucar, Patriarch of Constantinople, to King Charles I. It is supposed to have been written in the first half of the fifth century. Another remarkable document, the Codex Bezae, containing the Gospels and the Acts, had been found by Beza at the sack of Lyons in the Monastery of St. Irenæus, in 1562, a short time before Mill entered upon these studies. Beza gave it to the University of Cambridge in 1581. Its exact age has been a matter of some dispute, but it is now commonly assigned to the sixth century. This text also varied greatly from the Stephanic, which had been formed from authorities not so old by six or seven hundred years. A similar variation was found in the oldest Latin versions. So faithful

are their renderings from the Greek that the readings of the copy which the translator used may often be discovered with absolute certainty. It was found that the older were the MSS. of these translations the more did they agree with the Alexandrian Codex in those passages in which it differs from the text of Stephens. The same result was obtained from an examination of other ancient versions. Quotations from the New Testament made by the early Greek fathers, as Clement of Alexandria and Origen, gave the same testimony. This surprising concurrence led Mill to conceive a plan for the recovery of the primitive Greek text. He supposed the old Latin version, the root of the many copies existing prior to Jerome, still to exist in those MSS., which would agree with the citations of Scripture found in the writings of the Latin fathers of the same period. From these the "Vetus Itala" might be restored. A comparison of the oldest Greek MSS. with the quotations of Clement and Origen would give approximatively the correct Greek text; and from these critical Latin and Greek texts the text of the first ages of the Church might be constructed, or at least one differing from it in no important respect. Several serious obstacles interposed to the execution of this idea, some of which were at the time insuperable; but it is worthy of notice that the first really critical editor of the Greek New Testament held that the original text was to be sought in the earliest documents, and that those documents consisted of MSS., versions, and quotations of the fathers. Mill, therefore, determined to print the text of Stephens with no intentional changes, except in the correction of manifest errata, placing his various readings in the margin. He attempted to bring together all possible materials that could aid in ascertaining the correct text. He not only collected all the various readings which previous study had discovered, but he personally collated such MSS. as were within his reach, and procured the collation of others by his friends. He was the first to habitually use for critical purposes the ancient versions and the writings of the fathers. Of the former he had only the Latin translations in Walton's Polyglot; the latter were not then so readily examined as is made possible by their publication since that day.

When Bishop Fell saw the extended scale upon which Mill had pursued his investigations, he strongly urged him to publish an edition of the New Testament on the full plan of his studies, promising to defray its expense. Mill finally consented; but the printing, which was not commenced until after considerable delay, progressed slowly, and was not completed until 1707, only two weeks before his death. The work had grown upon his hands. Point after point required reinvestigation; new and various materials were continually coming into his possession, some too late for their proper places in the body of the work. Besides this, a more thorough acquaintance with his materials and a greater experience in their use taught him better principles of judgment upon them than he had at the outset, and often compelled him to change opinions previously expressed. In the Prolegomena, therefore, we find some corrections of conclusions elsewhere given, and his most mature opinions upon the evidence before him. The result of his vast labors may be briefly stated: he showed the sources from which the means for a reconstruction of the text might be derived, and gathered the materials from which the biblical student might form his own judgment in cases of various readings. Still, much of his ground had to be traversed again in subsequent years, for the method of thorough collation that notices the most minute variations, as was found necessary at a later day, had in his time never been practiced. It was in his plan to publish the exact text of some of the most important MSS., a work which would have been of immense value to biblical scholarship. His death prevented its execution, and a century and a half elapsed before it was fully accomplished. His analysis and comparison of previously printed texts, and his accounts of their origin and history, have not been superseded by anything of more recent times.

It seems strange to scholars of the present day that the results of Mill's labors should not have been more gratefully received by men of learning. Many in both England and Germany, among whom were the generality of the clergy, and not a few university professors, condemned the work as hostile to Christianity. His collection of no less than thirty thousand various readings was the foundation of the charge against him of "rendering the canon of Scripture uncertain." None took

it up with greater zeal than Dr. Whitby, whose learning and genius were capable of better things. He undertook the task, a bold one with Mill's volume before him, of defending the Stephanic text against change in all important cases without exception, and of showing that it was very seldom to be altered even in passages of lighter moment. He must have known the manner in which that text originated, and also that Stephens himself in some cases preferred the readings in the margin to the text which he printed. He even stooped to accuse Mill of numerous contradictions of himself in the different opinions expressed in the Prolegomena upon the value of certain readings, from those given perhaps twenty years previously in the margin; in other words, of having changed his mind upon new and satisfactory evidence.

The charge of unsettling the text of Scripture, and making it uncertain, was a revival of the old declamation against Walton, (in which none was louder than the celebrated John Owen,) and a clamorous appeal to the ignorant against critical inquiries. It was at once seized by the enemies of Christianity and turned against its supporters, Whitby as well as Mill. They could easily and truly say that Mill did not *make* the variations, but simply stated them as he found them: their inference was that the Christian documents were thoroughly corrupt, and no reliance whatever could be placed upon them. "No profane author," it was said, "has suffered so much by the hand of time as the New Testament has done." Textual criticism had a double battle upon its hands; it must reply with an argument that would satisfy the lover of the word of God, and at the same time silence the skeptic. By none was it given more to the point than by "the British Aristarchus," RICHARD BENTLEY, master of Trinity College, Cambridge, the greatest Greek scholar that England has ever produced. "Surely," said he, "these various readings existed before in the several exemplars; Dr. Mill did not make and coin them; he only exhibited them to our view. If religion, therefore, was true before, though such various readings were in being, it will be as true, and consequently as safe still, though every body sees them. No truth, no matter of fact fairly laid open, can ever subvert true religion. If there had been but one MS. of the Greek Testament at the restoration of learning about two

centuries ago, then we had had no various readings at all. And would the text be in a better condition then than now we have thirty thousand? So far from that, that in the best single copy extant we should have had some hundreds of faults, and some omissions irreparable. Besides that, the suspicion of fraud and foul play would have been increased immensely." He proceeds to explain how, from numerous copies with their abundant variations, a greater certainty exists of arriving at the true text, just as the twenty thousand various readings of Terence had placed his text in good condition. That no errors, he argues, should have occurred in the transcription of MSS. through so many ages before the art of printing was known, by men whose livelihood was thus obtained, is simply impossible, unless we suppose that a perpetual miracle was wrought by which the pens of the copyists were supernaturally guided, which is contrary to plain matter of fact; and even then the New Testament has only shared the fate of all ancient writings.

No person in England was equally qualified with Bentley for taking up the work of presenting a correct text of the New Testament at the point where Mill had left it. He had given early attention to the subject, and his prominence in the controversies of which we have spoken turned the minds of many eminent scholars to him as peculiarly competent to undertake such an edition. It was never published, but his labors were of such a character that no history of the text can be complete without a notice of them. The exact time of the commencement of his preparations cannot be told with certainty. WETSTEIN, whose labors we shall hereafter detail, was mistaken in supposing that the scheme was not contemplated until a conference with himself early in 1716. That scholar, then but twenty-three years of age, had brought to England some collations made by himself at Paris, which he showed to Bentley. Among them were about two hundred readings from the Codex Ephæmi, (C) a MS. of the first half of the fifth century, which seven hundred years afterward was used as old parchment, and written over again with the works of Ephraem Syrus. Bentley was greatly interested in these extracts, and urged Wetstein to publish them; but finally purchased them, and employed him to return to Paris and make a complete

collation of the Codex. He also took great pains to secure accurate collations of the oldest MSS., both Greek and Latin, even sending an agent to Paris for that purpose. He personally collated the Alexandrian Codex; but the most valuable of his materials was a collation of the Codex Vaticanus, (B) by Mico, an Italian, some parts of which were afterward reviewed by his nephew, Dr. Thomas Bentley.

Bentley's letter to Dr. Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, dated April 16, 1716, and written while Wetstein was still in England, exhibits his views so clearly that we would gladly give it a full insertion, but must be content with brief extracts. He fully believed himself "able to give an edition of the Greek Testament exactly as it was in the best exemplars at the time of the Council of Nice, so that there shall not be twenty words, nor even particles, difference." He found a wonderful agreement in the ancient Greek and Latin copies, even to the collocation and order of words, a point of which no preceding collator had taken notice; while modern copies likewise greatly agreed among themselves, but at the expense of a difference with those which were six or eight hundred years older. He says:

The New Testament has been under a hard fate since the invention of printing. After the Complutenses and Erasmus, who had but very ordinary MSS., it has become the property of booksellers. Robert Stephens's edition, set out and regulated by himself alone, is now become the standard. That text stands as if an apostle was his compositor. No heathen author has had such ill fortune. Terence, Ovid, etc., for the first century after printing, went about with twenty thousand errors in them. But when learned men undertook them, and from the oldest MSS. set out correct editions, those errors fell and vanished. But if they had kept to the first published text, and set the various lections only in the margin, those classic authors would be as clogged with variations as Dr. Mill's Testament is. . . . To conclude in a word, I find that by taking two thousand errors out of the Pope's Vulgate, and as many out of the Protestant Pope Stephens's, I can set out an edition of each in columns, without using any book under nine hundred years old, that shall so exactly agree, word for word, and, what at first amazed me, order for order, that no two tallies nor two indentures can agree better. I affirm that these so placed will prove each other to a demonstration; for I alter not a letter of my own head without the authority of these old witnesses.

In 1720 he issued his proposals for his Greek and Latin Testament, explaining fully his system, and giving a specimen

chapter. The important features of his plan may be briefly stated: he would revise the two texts "on the authority of MSS. of more than a thousand years old;" as confirmatory witnesses to the text thus adopted, he would use the readings of "the old versions, Syriac, Coptic, Gothic, and Æthiopic, and of all the fathers, Greek and Latin, within the first five centuries . . . so that the reader has under one view what the first ages of the Church knew of the text, and what has crept into any copies since is of no value or authority;" nothing was to be inserted into the text upon conjecture, and the entire evidence for every word was to be given. This was a capital plan for harmonizing the Greek and Latin texts, and would have resulted in furnishing the text current in the West in the third and fourth centuries; whereas what was wanted was the text of the whole body of Christians of that time.

The proposed work was immediately assailed with severity, introducing long and bitter controversies, which greatly retarded its execution. It was further hindered by the personal quarrels in which he became involved, which, together with his imprudence and unamiability, aroused an intense prejudice against his qualifications for the task he had undertaken. The work was completed, however, and laid aside to be published after his death, but it never appeared.

We must now turn our eyes again to the Continent, where, after the lapse of a century, another critical scholar had arisen. While Bentley was prosecuting these studies in England, JOHN ALBERT BENGEL, at Tübingen, was led to similar pursuits from a desire to know the precise words in which the word of God, which he had early learned to love, was given. The collections of various readings known to him in 1703, four years previous to the appearance of Mill's New Testament, were so few and incomplete, that a feeling of anxious doubt arose in his mind respecting the accuracy of the sacred text. Patient study removed it, and convinced him that the variations not only affected no important doctrine, but are really less numerous than might have been expected. The materials gathered by him were at first designed solely for his own use, and it was only at the earnest solicitations of others that he continued his investigations for purposes of publication.

It was not until 1734 that his New Testament was issued,

nine years after its commencement, and thirty years after his investigations began while a student at the University. He had delayed it for a time, hoping to see Bentley's promised edition, and, when that became hopeless, the appearance of Wetstein's *Prolegomena* rendered advisable a complete re-examination of his authorities, and, indeed, of his entire work. It was, in fact, only a partial revision of the text, nothing being inserted into it except in the Revelation, which had not previously appeared in some printed edition, although in the margin were given numerous readings which he judged better attested than those in the text. But for all the readings which he gave he presented the evidence both *for* and *against*, the first who had done so, thus enabling the student to make the best possible use of his labors. He also distinctly announced the now generally admitted principle, *Proclivi scriptioni præstat ardua*—the difficult reading is preferable to the easy one—holding very properly that the tendency of a transcriber would be to the smooth and elegant rather than to the provincial or rough. In his attempt to solve the problem of the characteristic differences of MSS., Bengel conferred a benefit upon all his successors in this field. He was the first to suggest the affinity of certain groups of documents, the primary sources of which were as early as the second century, but are now undiscoverable, except through the copies that have proceeded from them. Though at one time he divided them into three families, his final conclusion was that they should be distinguished into two, which he styled the Asiatic and the African. In the latter were included the Alexandrian Codex, the Græco-Latin MSS., the Æthiopic, Coptic, [Memphitic,] and Latin versions, which happen also to be substantially those upon which Bentley most relied. It was an assertion of the general agreement of the most ancient witnesses against those of later times.

The spirit in which Bengel prosecuted his work was full of reverence and piety. The author of "*Gnomon Novi Testamenti*," a work so highly valued by John Wesley that he translated and incorporated* large portions of it into his "Explan-

*"Many of his excellent notes I have therefore translated; many more I have abridged; omitting that part which was purely critical and giving the substance of the rest. Those various readings, likewise, which he has shown to have a vast majority of ancient copies and translations on their side, I have without

atory Notes upon the New Testament," could not be accused of impiety or heresy, but during the remaining eighteen years of his life he was compelled to encounter the severest opposition from ignorance and bigotry, not untinted sometimes, we fear, by malice. It is even recorded that he was "publicly challenged to hush the enemies of criticism by admitting that even the various lections were given by inspiration, in order to meet the necessities of various readers." On the other hand, his labors were by large numbers fully appreciated. His text was used by Count Zinzendorf for his German translation; it was by order of the king made the standard for the Danish revision in 1745; and, as we have seen, it was adopted by Wesley in his revised English translation in 1755.

We have already seen WETSTEIN engaged in making collations for Bentley as early as 1716. After thirty-five years of additional labor he produced his edition of the Greek Testament in two folio volumes. When only twenty years of age he wrote and defended a dissertation on its various readings with such success that he was advised by a relative, Mr. J. L. Frey, to undertake a more accurate examination of MSS. in different libraries than they had previously received. Following this counsel he went to Paris, where he made the collations which he afterward sold to Bentley. It was Frey who also suggested to him to prepare a selection of such readings as he deemed preferable to those of the received text, which was done. Frey was so impressed with the apparent value of a text thus revised that he strongly urged him to undertake such an edition. Until this time Wetstein had contemplated nothing more than the editing of the various readings which he had collected. Four years later, the publishing firm of Wetstein & Smith, at Amsterdam, to the former of whom he was related, desiring to anticipate the expected work of Bengel, made him such propositions that his hesitations vanished, and he earnestly set about the work. No long time had elapsed, when for some cause Frey began to oppose him in all possible ways; and then, in 1729, the theological faculty of the University and the parochial clergy presented a petition to the town-council of

scruple incorporated with the text."—*Wesley's Works*, vol. vii, page 535. This quotation not only shows Mr. Wesley's opinion of the "Gnomon," but indicates his judgment of the value of the earliest documents.

Basle, "that J. J. Wetstein, Deacon of St. Leonard's, be prohibited from publishing his criticisms on the Greek Testament, as it is a useless, needless, and dangerous work." The town-council had too much sense to grant the petition; yet the opposition to him caused its issue to be delayed for nearly twenty years. His adoption of Socinianism, and his attempt to propagate its tenets in his lectures, afforded doubtless a valid ground for those disciplinary proceedings which resulted in his leaving Basle and removing to Amsterdam; but they were very poor reasons for preventing the publication of a work of textual criticism.

The *Prolegomena* was published at Amsterdam in 1730, but the plan was afterward greatly changed, as were his critical principles. His original purpose was to use the Alexandrian Codex as a basis, with which all other authorities were to be compared. Subsequently, he contemplated a text formed upon what he deemed the best evidence at his command. But finally, at the suggestion of some of the Remonstrants, it is said he concluded not to change the received text at all, and to place below it the readings which, in his opinion, should be adopted, and lower still on the page the mass of readings gathered by himself and his predecessors. Wetstein himself collated only about twenty MSS. of the Gospels, and as many more of other parts of the New Testament; but he also re-examined many of the collations of the versions and fathers which had been made by others, and brought together all the results of previous investigations, so that he was able to present the entire body of critical materials known at that time. In this consists the great value of his work.

It is perhaps well that Wetstein did not attempt to revise the text. The peculiar constitution of his mind unfitted him for an impartial weighing of evidence and a correct estimate of the value of his materials. Some of his principles of criticism were undoubtedly correct; but his judgment of principles seems sometimes to have been influenced by his piques and prejudices. When he found that Bentley wished no more collations from him, the ancient MSS. that agree with the Vulgate of Jerome began to fall under his suspicion. His opposition to Bengel resulted in his total rejection of that class of authorities. The resemblance between the early Greek and Latin

MSS., which led Bentley and Bengel to place great reliance upon them, led him to the belief that the Greek text had been altered to conform to the Latin, and finally, that everything, including versions and fathers, that agreed with the Latin had been interpolated from it, and was guilty of "Latinizing." He never explained how the Syriac version and the Greek fathers came to adopt a text that was formed two or three centuries later. The rejection of the mass of ancient documents was with him therefore a necessity. Relying upon modern witnesses, and incapable of acting the part of a judge, it is difficult to see how he could have avoided the conclusion to which he came, namely, that the majority of MSS. must decide the question of a contested reading.

We have thus followed the history of the printed text from its first conception by Cardinal Ximenes for more than two hundred years. It had become so stereotyped, and had attained so prescriptive a right, that it was deemed almost sacrilege to touch it even upon the strongest evidence. The labor of many years had been bestowed upon the collection and examination of documents. A huge mass of materials for criticism had been gathered at the middle of the eighteenth century, Wetstein increasing it as much as Mill had done, and leaving it an unintelligible chaos. Here properly closes our *second* period.

The *third* period is one of critical judgment.

ART. II.—THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN CANADA.

[ARTICLE SECOND.]

IN 1824 an Annual Conference was established in Upper Canada, the following resolutions having been adopted by the General Conference:

Resolved, 1. That there shall be a Canada Conference under our superintendency, bounded by the boundary line of Upper Canada.

2. That a circular shall be addressed to our preachers and members included within the bounds of the Canada Conference, expressive of our zeal for their prosperity, and urging the importance of their maintaining union among themselves.

The first session of the Canada Conference was appointed to be held at Hallowell, August 25, 1824, and was accordingly organized in due form, being presided over in turn by both Bishops George and Hedding. The strong attachment of the American brethren to Canada was manifested by the two bishops coming at that day to the country at the same time. Bishop George entered the province in the eastern district, and traveled west, preaching as he had opportunity, till he reached Hallowell; while Bishop Hedding, accompanied by Dr. Bangs, crossed at Niagara, going east to the seat of conference. In this way they could better than in any other learn the views of the societies concerning Mr. Ryan's scheme of separation. Finding that a majority of the preachers, with the members, were drifting with the tide, anxious for a separation from the American Methodists, the bishops consented to favor the plan at the next General Conference, which concession gave general satisfaction. Mr. Ryan, however, only yielded for a time, and having at this conference been removed from the presiding eldership, and appointed to a mission, he the next year took a superannuated relation, and finally, in 1827, withdrew altogether from the Connection.

Notwithstanding the turmoil of those years, the success attending the preaching of the word was truly surprising. Afflicted with internal dissension, and despised and opposed by the government, one would have thought that Methodism must have fallen in the province. This was not so, however, for many seals were given to the ministry of those who attended to their appropriate work. Extensive revivals attended the efforts made at the camp-meetings and quarterly meetings held throughout the country. To these gatherings the people came for miles, expecting that souls would be awakened and converted, and they proved to be, as a general thing, times of refreshing on every charge.

In 1828 there were in connection with the Church in Canada three districts, thirty-three circuits, forty-eight preachers, and nine thousand six hundred and seventy-eight members.

At the General Conference of 1828, which was convened at Pittsburgh, there were five delegates from Canada. These delegates favored a separation from the Methodist body in the United States, not because they were dissatisfied with their

American brethren, but because it was deemed advisable by a majority of the preachers and people in Canada, as it was thought that certain civil rights, heretofore denied to Methodists by the government, might thus be secured, and the General Conference kindly, but regretfully, consented to the separation.

The following are the first, third, and fourth resolutions, adopted by the General Conference on this question :

Resolved, therefore, by the Delegates of the Annual Conferences in General Conference assembled, 1. That the compact existing between the Canada Annual Conference and the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States be and hereby is dissolved by mutual consent.

3. That we do hereby recommend to our brethren in Canada to adopt the form of government of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, with such modifications as their peculiar relations shall render necessary.

4. That we do hereby express to our Canadian brethren our sincere desire that the most friendly feeling may exist between them and the connection of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States.

With this request the Canadian delegates complied, and Bishop Hedding came to Earnesttown, Canada, October, 1828, and was present at the conference when the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada was organized. The following is an extract of the proceedings of the Canada Conference :

Whereas the jurisdiction of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America has heretofore extended over the ministers and members in connection with the said Church in the Province of Upper Canada by mutual consent of our brethren in this province; and whereas it has been and is the general wish of the ministers and members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada to be organized into a separate and independent body, in friendly relations with the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States;

Resolved, 1. That it is expedient and necessary, and that the Canada Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church do now organize itself into an independent Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada.

2. That we adopt the present Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church as the basis of our constitution and Discipline, except such alterations as may appear necessary from our local circumstances.

The question very naturally arises, Was there any actual necessity for a separation of the Canadian from the American Church? Evidently there was none. The provincial laws authorizing Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and others, to solemnize matrimony, and hold Church property, were not passed one day sooner because of the separation. The truth is, that public opinion had set in so strongly in favor of equal religious privileges that the government could no longer withhold from the people their just rights. The provincial Parliament had already vindicated the ministers and members of the Methodist Episcopal Church from the charge of disloyalty brought against them by Dr. Strachan; and the assembly had sent an address to the king on the subject, pointing out the uprightness, zeal, and integrity of the American ministers. But the missionaries, Mr. Ryan, and the government officials, had kept up such an incessant cry of Yankee preachers, disloyalty, foreign ecclesiastical control, etc., that a large majority of the societies thought a peaceable separation would save them from these embarrassing influences. In this, however, they were mistaken; the High-Church party, and Mr. Ryan, who acted with them, disliked the Methodist Episcopal Church as much after the separation as before.

The principle upon which the proposition for a separation was based was questionable. The division was sought for on purely *political* grounds, and failed to answer the purpose for which it was designed, proving conclusively how wrong it is for the Christian Church to yield in such matters, directly or indirectly, to the civil government. The very idea is preposterous. Was the Church of Christ in the days of the apostles divided by political boundaries? Has even the Church of Rome, claiming, as she does, both a temporal and spiritual foreign control, been confined through her own action by political lines? She has never consented to divide up into sections to please any civil government. Indeed, when the ministers and members of a Church are obedient to the laws of the country, and loyal to the civil government, that is all that should be required by it, or granted by the Church. The inconsistency of these very politicians is proved from the fact that at the very time they were raising such an outcry against the Methodists for being under foreign ecclesiastical influence

they were pampering the Romanists, who acknowledged a foreign control both temporal and ecclesiastical; and the British missionaries themselves were pushing their way into every foreign country where there was an opening for them. In looking back over the history of those times it is very evident to the impartial mind that there was no necessity, political or otherwise, for the separation from the original body; but under the circumstances in which Methodists were placed, and with the views then entertained by the Canadian people, such a course seemed expedient, and gave very general satisfaction, and for five years the Church prospered in a remarkable manner. There were no ordinations at the conference of 1829, but in 1830 Bishop Hedding kindly came over and ordained the candidates.

Notwithstanding all the concessions which had been made by the Church for peace' sake, it was very soon found that the desired object had not been obtained. Dr. Strachn, Mr. Ryan, and their coadjutors still kept up as violent an opposition as before, and in 1829 the adherents of Mr. Ryan formed a separate connection, called the "Canadian Wesleyans."

In the personal conflicts which Mr. Ryan had had with his brethren, he had become completely alienated from them and the Church for which he had toiled and triumphed. His influence, however, had for some time been on the wane, and when he and his party seceded from the Church, and organized their new body, they did not succeed in inflicting the anticipated measure of injury upon the old body, as a comparison of statistics will show. In 1828, as before stated, there were in connection with the Church three districts, thirty-three circuits, forty-eight preachers, and a membership of nine thousand six hundred and seventy-eight. In 1833 there were five districts, forty-nine circuits, seventy-one preachers, and a membership of sixteen thousand and thirty-nine, making an increase during the five years, though they had been years of trouble and commotion, of two districts, sixteen circuits, twenty-three preachers, and six thousand three hundred and sixty-one members. For seven or eight years after it became independent the unparalleled prosperity of the Church continued; thousands were awakened and converted; the camp-meetings were times of power, quarterly meetings were crowded, the Indian mis-

sions yielded the fruits of righteousness, and the work of God moved vigorously forward.

At this time the English Conference once more decided to interfere in Upper Canadian matters by sending their missionaries into the field in direct violation of the treaty of 1820.

The provincial government of those days was ruled by an oligarchy, known familiarly as the "Family Compact," in consequence of the frequent intermarriages between the families composing it. At the head of this hopeful "compact" was one Dr. Strachn, a Scotchman, but a bigoted "High-Churchman." He had been brought up a Presbyterian, and had come to Canada in the capacity of a school-teacher; but having left the denomination in which he had been brought up to join the Church of England, and having entered its ministry, he, like many others similarly situated, entertained a more bitter dislike to those who opposed the unfounded pretensions of that Church than did many who had been nurtured within her pale; and this dislike extended more especially to the Methodist Episcopal Church than any other.

The success of Methodism in the colony had provoked this individual's jealousy, and was a source of annoyance to the party in power, who wished to monopolize one seventh of the lands of the province for the purpose of endowing a state-paid priesthood, thus establishing the Church of England in Canada.

To this the great majority of the people were opposed, and the Methodists, with other religious denominations, co-operated with the House of Assembly that they might secure equal civil and religious privileges. A crisis in the government of the country had nearly arrived; there was a determined struggle for mastery, a trial of strength between the "compact" and the House of Assembly.

At this juncture it occurred to Dr. Strachn and Sir Peregrine Maitland that as the Wesleyan missionaries were advocates for Church and State connection in the colonies, as well as in England, that the English Conference might be induced, by a liberal grant of public money, to send out their agents to this country, and thereby split up and divide the Methodist societies into sections, and by thus engendering ill-will among the people retard the progress of Methodism. A

dispatch was therefore sent by Governor Maitland to the colonial secretary, urging the home government to try to induce the Wesleyan Conference to send their missionaries into Upper Canada. The colonial secretary did as he was requested; the bait took, and Dr. Strachn's plot was successful. Dr. Alder, at that time a prominent Wesleyan minister, was called before a committee of the House of Commons, July 1, 1828, and made the following statements in answer to their questions:

Committee. Is there any point of difference, either in doctrine or discipline, between the British and American Conference?

Dr. Alder. Not any of importance. We consider ourselves to be one body; but we do not deem it right that the Methodists of Upper Canada should be under the jurisdiction of a foreign ecclesiastical authority.

Committee. Do you conceive that the colonial government of Upper Canada has manifested any desire for the extension of the British Wesleyan Methodists in that province?

Dr. Alder. I believe there are documents in the colonial office, addressed to Earl Bathurst and to Mr. Huskisson, from Sir Peregrine Maitland, which will show that his excellency is very anxious that the number of British Methodist ministers should be increased as far as possible in Upper Canada; and I understand that he wrote home a short time ago recommending that pecuniary aid might be allowed us for that purpose. I should wish to state that we consider ourselves as a branch of the Church of England, both at home and abroad.

Dr. Alder was not content to reflect in an indirect manner upon the American Church before the committee, but in a subsequent letter to Lord John Russell on Canadian affairs, dated Wesleyan Mission House, 77 Hatton Garden, April 29, 1840, he makes the following incorrect and ungenerous statement respecting the American General Conference, trying, it is apparent, to convey the idea to the British government that the bishops and the conferences in the United States held on to the Church in Canada till 1828 for political purposes. Dr. Alder's words are:

It is not correct, as stated by Mr. Ryerson, that the late Rev. John Wesley recommended the formation of the Methodist societies in America into a distinct and independent body with the attributes and style of a Church. Hence, at the present time all Wesleyan ministers and members of the society in Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward's Island, and Newfoundland, as well as in all her majesty's colonial possessions, with

one exception, are integral parts of the great religious community under the care of the British Conference, and subject to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of that body. . . . The one exception I have referred to is that of Upper Canada, which province, in consequence of its contiguity to the United States, was first supplied with Methodist ministers from thence, and the societies organized in the colony were regarded as forming a part of the Methodist Church in the neighboring republic, and as such were placed under foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This was felt to be a very undesirable state of things. The General Conference of the United States endeavored with great tenacity to retain their hold on the Methodist societies in Upper Canada.

Why Mr. Alder, on behalf of the Wesleyan Conference, should have declared that Mr. Wesley did not design that the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States should have the "attributes and style of a Church," is passing strange; unless it was to flatter High-Church dignitaries for the sake of patronage. He says that Mr. Wesley, after the close of the Revolutionary War, "formed the Methodist societies in the United States into a distinct religious community," but denies that Mr. Wesley designed that the societies should have the "attributes and style of a Church," and urges that it was not the design of the man who claimed the world as his parish, that the preachers of the Church he had formed in America should preach to British subjects, or form societies in a British colony. The insinuation of Mr. Alder, that the American Church was induced by political motives to try to retain their hold of the Methodist societies in Upper Canada, is also inexcusable in a Wesleyan minister who well knew the origin and history of the Methodist Church in this country. Still, in justice to the American preachers, it is perhaps as well to give the testimony of the House of Assembly on the subject at a time when they were being misrepresented by Mr. Alder and his friends.

The Upper Canada House of Assembly appointed a select committee to examine into the allegations of Dr. Strachn's letter against Methodists and other Christian Churches in the country. The following is an extract from the report of that committee:

The insinuations in the letter against the Methodist clergymen the committee have noticed with peculiar regret. To the disinter-

ested and indefatigable exertions of these pious men this province owes much. At an early period of its history, when it was thinly settled, and its inhabitants were scattered through the wilderness and destitute of all other means of religious instruction, these ministers of the Gospel, animated by Christian zeal and benevolence, at the sacrifice of health and interest and comfort, carried among the people the blessings and consolations and sanctions of our holy religion. Their ministry and instruction, far from having, as represented in the letter, a tendency hostile to our institutions, have been conducive, in a degree which cannot be easily estimated, to the reformation of their hearers from licentiousness, and the diffusion of correct morals, the foundation of all sound loyalty and social order.

And again, in an address to the king dated March 20, 1828, the provincial assembly observes :

We humbly beg leave to assure your majesty that the insinuations in the letter against the Methodist preachers in this province do much injustice to a body of pious and deserving men, who justly enjoy the confidence, and are the spiritual instructors, of a large portion of your majesty's subjects in this province. We are convinced that the tendency of their influence and instruction is not hostile to our institutions; but, on the contrary, is eminently favorable to religion and morality, and their labors are calculated to make their people better men and better subjects, and have already produced in this province the happiest effects.

Be it remembered, all this testimony was given *before* the separation, and therefore applies to the American ministers; but such testimony had no weight with Dr. Alder or the British Conference. Dr. Strachn's plan, indorsed as it was by the governor, was too powerful for the principle that "Methodism is one throughout the world," so Dr. Alder was sent out in 1832 to re-establish the missionaries in this country, at a time when there was not even the excuse of *foreign ecclesiastical control*, as the Methodist Episcopal Church had been entirely independent of any foreign jurisdiction whatever for four years.

Upon his arrival Mr. Alder at once hastened to the governor's residence, and with him matured their schemes. In this state of affairs a prominent member of the Canada Conference proposed a union of the Canadian and English bodies, and Dr. Alder, keeping out of sight his arrangements with the government, attended the conference of 1832, held at Hallowell. The proposition for union sounded pleasantly to some of the

members of the Canadian Conference, but others saw mischief concealed under this union cover.

Propositions were made by both parties, but the doctor writes exultantly in his report to the governor that he had in due time brought the advocates of union to his own terms. The following is an extract from his letter, written August 27, 1832:

SIR: I beg permission to inform your excellency that I have attended the conference of the Methodist Church of Upper Canada, and to state confidentially, for your information, the result of the interview with that body, a result much more favorable than I allowed myself to contemplate. They have resolved that their disciplinary system shall be altered, so that it shall agree in all its parts with British Methodism as speedily as prudence and a due regard to the safety of their chapel property will allow. The conference has already agreed to the abolition of episcopacy, which was a great barrier in the way of the entire union. They have consented to place the whole of their Indian Missions under the exclusive management of our Missionary Committee . . . that the British Conference shall send to Canada such ministers as it may see fit to appoint; that no preacher shall be taken out in Canada without the consent of that body.

That the scheme of Mr. Alder was a purely political one, carried on under the direct dictation of the government, which had for years striven to destroy the Methodist Church, was not discovered until many were committed to it; but some, more far-seeing than the others, perceived the evil it was likely to bring upon the Connection, and regretted it, and hundreds of the membership refused to give the scheme the least countenance or sanction.

The union, as it was called, was consummated on the part of the conference October, 1833; but as the societies had no voice in the matter, not having been consulted, the action of the conference, as a matter of course, could only legally affect the consenting ministers and those of the members who chose to go with them. The new Church on its part renounced episcopacy, abolished the order of deacons, annihilated the General Conference, and called themselves the "Wesleyan Methodist Church in British North America." They published a new Discipline, containing a different constitution and different regulations from the old one of 1829; and though now Presbyterian in their form of Church government, they per-

sisted in declaring that they were still the Methodist *Episcopal* Church as established in 1828. All this they affirmed, notwithstanding that they had abolished, with others, the second restrictive rule, which as a conference they had no constitutional power to do, and thereby had broken faith with the membership, as will be seen from the reading of the rule, which is as follows, namely: "The General Conference shall not change or alter any part or rule of our government so as to do away with episcopacy, or destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency." The proviso in the seventh restriction gave the conference no authority to do away with this rule, or to abolish the General Conference. With regard to the restrictive rules Dr. Bangs says: "Call these rules, therefore, restrictive regulations, or a constitution of the Church; for we contend not about names merely, they have ever since been considered as sacredly binding upon all succeeding General Conferences, limiting them in all their legislative acts; and prohibiting them from making inroads upon the doctrines, general rules, and government of the Church." It is very evident, then, from the above and following considerations, that the resolutions and transactions of the new organization were only binding upon those who chose to fall in with the measure.

1. The Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada was in 1833, as it is now, a religious association of persons, voluntarily united under certain established and admitted disciplinary laws, by means of which the rights of the membership as well as the ministry were equally protected. The conference, therefore, had no more authority, either human or divine, to abolish the episcopal form of Church government, do away with the General Conference, abrogate the orders of the ministry, give up the independence of the body, and transfer the societies to the British connection, without their consent, than the membership would have had to have called a convention, and without the consent of the preachers to have passed an ordinance to abolish the government of the Church, assume a new name and new disciplinary laws, and transfer their ministers with themselves to the Irish, or any other Methodist, conference.

2. If the Methodists are one body, as the British Conference has admitted, there was no necessity, either civil or religious, for sending Wesleyan missionaries to Canada, because Method-

ism had been regularly established in this country since 1791. The Canadian Methodists were quite as good British subjects as were the English Methodists. Canadian soil on every battleground in the province had been dyed with the rich blood of Canadian Methodists during the lamentable war of 1812. The Canadians were fully as intelligent, laborious, and talented as the English were, and much better qualified to manage their own business than any members of the British Conference who were not residents of the country, having little or no interest at stake in it, and consequently, not knowing what were its wants or necessities.

3. The Canada Conference had power under certain restrictive regulations to make rules for the Methodist Episcopal Church, as established in 1828, but the constitution or Discipline of the Connection gave the preachers no authority upon their own mere motion to thus revolutionize the Church, adopting an altogether different Church polity; nor had it any power, civil or ecclesiastical, to hand over its private members, with its local preachers, without their individual consent, to a foreign ecclesiastical body. The action of the Canadian and British Conferences was this:

That episcopacy be superseded by an annual presidency, and that in order to effect this object the discipline, economy, and form of Church government in general of the Wesleyan Methodists in England be introduced into the societies in Upper Canada, and that in particular an annual presidency be adopted. That the English Conference shall have authority to send from year to year one of its own body to preside over the Canada Conference . . . and that the missions among the Indian tribes and destitute settlers which are now or may be hereafter established in Upper Canada shall be regarded as missions of the Wesleyan Missionary Society.

That the Canada Conference could only act for itself in such a case, or for those who voluntarily consented to such an arrangement, is apparent. But those who refused to acquiesce in this matter remained as before members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada, and were no more bound by the action of that conference than would be the citizens of the United States if, without consent of the people, Congress passed an act superseding the republican constitution, and adopting in its place the British constitution and form of government, placing the people of the United States under the direction of

the English House of Lords, and stipulating that one of the royal family should be received as chief ruler.

4. The conditions of the union, as insisted upon by Dr. Alder, and accepted by the Canada Conference, were deeply humiliating to the latter body. The Canadians were required to give up all control of the Indian missions and destitute settlements, to resign their own independence, and to become subject to the English Conference, a body to which the Canadians were not allowed even to send a representative, but were required to accept a president from the English Connection to preside over and direct the affairs of the Canada Conference. It was designed that the Canadian Church should become a dependency of the English Conference in a still fuller and much less liberal sense than the colonies are dependencies of the British crown.

Degrading, however, as these Church relations were to American and Canadian Methodism, the exactions of the re-union are still more so. The Canada Conference is so closely bound that it cannot receive a young man on trial, a preacher into full connection, remove a delinquent, or pass a solitary act, or even a resolution of any kind whatever, without submitting all to the English Conference for approval or rejection. Could servile dependence be more complete? Is it surprising, then, that thinking people in the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada, who loved the Church in which they had had their spiritual birth and nurture, had no desire to be transferred from the Church of their choice to a body placed in such a position of ecclesiastical vassalage?

The latter part of 1833 and the early portion of 1834 were periods of intense excitement and sorrow in the Methodist Church. The preachers, with few exceptions, having united with the English body, the people were at a loss to know what course to take. To abandon the old Church and fall in with the new combination was a surrender of cherished institutions and of individual rights which many could not think of making. To expect that the shattered ranks of the Methodist Episcopal Church would be able to rally again and successfully hold out against the combined forces of the Canadian and English Conferences, backed up as they were by the civil government, and aided by large grants from the provincial

revenue, was more than could be reasonably expected; and especially so as the parent connection in the United States at that time, not understanding the real position of affairs, with but individual exceptions, gave their children in Canada very little sympathy.

The Methodist societies saw dark days during the war of 1812, and darker yet when the English missionaries were sent out to divide the classes; but during the latter months of 1833, and the greater part of 1834, it appeared to the Methodist Episcopal Church as though the hour and power of darkness had come.

The union having been consummated, the Wesleyan Conference now pushed every point to take and retain possession of the circuits and Church property, assuring the people that no particular change had been effected, and that the membership throughout the province were very much pleased with the new state of things, except a few dissatisfied local preachers, and an occasional Yankee Methodist.

The adherents of the old Church commenced also immediately to move and hold meetings in various parts of the province in order to ascertain the remaining strength of the body, and to supply the societies as far as possible with preaching.

The conference met on Young-street, ten miles from Toronto, June 25, 1834. There were present three elders and one deacon, all of whom had been members of the old Genesee Conference, and had been ordained by the American bishops. The elders were Joseph Gatchell, David Culp, and Daniel Pickett; the deacon was John W. Byam. These brethren proceeded to reorganize the annual conference, and after due deliberation stationed fourteen preachers, who were offered for the work. The conference then adjourned, to meet at Belleville on the 10th of February, 1835. The Church having no bishop, it was deemed expedient and necessary for the annual conference, now assembled, to call a meeting of the General Conference, agreeable to the following clause of Discipline of 1829, p. 20: "If there be no general superintendent, the annual conference or conferences respectively shall have power to call a General Conference, if they judge it necessary at any time."

The General Conference was duly called, according to the above provision of the Discipline, and the Rev. John Reynolds, an old located elder, who had been readmitted to the annual conference, was elected general superintendent *pro tem.*

The annual conference met again in Cummer's Chapel, Young-street, on June 10, 1835. No minutes of the June or February conference having been published, the Eastern preachers had mistaken the date and were not present, therefore the conference adjourned, to meet again on the 25th of the same month in the Trafalgar Meeting-house.

Conference met according to adjournment in the Trafalgar Meeting-house, June 25, 1835. J. Reynolds, general superintendent *pro tem.*, in the chair, and Arnon C. Seaver, secretary.

On Friday, June 26, the necessity of obtaining a bishop, and having him duly appointed and consecrated according to the provisions of the Discipline, was carefully considered. The same subject was resumed on Saturday, June 27, and the annual conference recommended the general superintendent to call a meeting of the General Conference.

The general superintendent then called the General Conference in accordance with the rule already quoted. The General Conference met the same day, elders present, John Reynolds, Daniel Pickett, Joseph Gatchell, David Culp, and John H. Huston.

The General Conference elected John Reynolds bishop, in strict conformity with the fourth section of the book of Discipline, page 23, which is as follows:

Quest. 2. If by death, expulsion, or otherwise, there be no bishop remaining in our Church, what shall we do?

Ans. The General Conference shall elect a bishop, and the elders, or any three of them, who shall be appointed by the General Conference for that purpose shall ordain him according to our form of ordination.

See also American Discipline on these subjects.

The Rev. John Reynolds, having been duly elected by the General Conference, was on Sabbath, the 28th day of June, 1835, ordained a bishop in the regular way by the laying on of the hands of Joseph Gatchell, Daniel Pickett, and David Culp, according to the consecration services of the Methodist Epis-

copal Church in Canada, as contained in the Discipline of 1829, which is a true copy of the consecration service in the American Discipline.

With regard to the ordination of bishops by elders or presbyters Dr. Bangs makes the following observation. He says:

That very section of our ecclesiastical economy which provides for the episcopal office, and prescribes its duties and responsibilities, provides for the consecration of a bishop by the hands of the eldership, thereby clearly recognizing the principle for which I have contended. Thus we read, "If by death, expulsion, or otherwise, there be no bishop remaining in our Church, the General Conference shall elect a bishop, and the elders, or any three of them, who shall be appointed by the General Conference for that purpose, shall ordain him according to our form of ordination." This is one case of necessity, which we as a Church recognize as justifying episcopal ordination by the hands of elders or presbyters.—*Original Church of Christ*, pp. 179, 180.

Dr. Bangs in another place, speaking of the local preachers who were ordained elders in the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, asks:

But will any man in his senses say that because these local presbyters have no special oversight in the Church they are of an inferior order? Or that because a man is a traveling presbyter he is of an order superior to a presbyter? He is superior in office, but not in order.—*Original Church of Christ*, p. 48.

At the conference of June, 1834, eight months after the Canada Conference had renounced episcopacy, and gone with the English party, the Methodist Episcopal Church could return only about one thousand one hundred members and fourteen preachers. This was not, however, the strength of the Connection. Many of the classes had been caught by guile, the new party having placed the names of the members on the new Wesleyan class books, hundreds of whom they afterward read out of their societies because that when they became acquainted with the innovations that had been made they ventured to remonstrate; while others, as they came to understand the position of things, took their departure without waiting for dismissal. Members of these classes rallied joyfully around the standard of their old Church as fast as preachers could be sent to them.

The property of the Church was, however, nearly all lost. This included the printing establishment at Toronto, the educational institution at Cobourg, and most of the meeting-houses.

The Methodist Episcopal Church was able to retain only three chapels; but the people threw open their private dwellings, barns, and the school-houses to the ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and hailed them as the bearers of the old standard of Methodism in the province. Amid all their discouragements the Lord was with them, and blessed their faithful labors with many gracious revivals.

Wherever the Wesleyans had secured the keys, and that was generally the case, the churches were locked against the old members, and they were thus obliged to be at a great disadvantage till able to build again.

Some time after the union a suit was brought by the trustees of the Methodist Episcopal Church to recover possession of the Waterloo Church. This was a place of worship near Kingston. The case was tried in the Court of Queen's Bench, and the suit was decided in favor of the plaintiffs, the old trustees. The Wesleyans appealed to the Bench of Judges, and two out of the three judges sustained the verdict of the jury; thus deciding that the property rightfully belonged to the Methodist Episcopal Church, Judge Robinson standing alone in favoring the claims of the Wesleyans. Here the matter rested for a time, the Methodist Episcopal trustees having been put in possession of the church.

Soon after this the Methodist Episcopal trustees brought a suit for the recovery of the Belleville Church. In this case also the jury rendered a verdict for the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The Wesleyans again appealed to the judges, and this time with good hope of success, one of the old judges having retired from the bench since the decision in the case of the Waterloo Church, and new judges having been appointed, who had been violent political partisans, and therefore likely to appreciate the marked change which, since the union, had been effected in the political affinities of a large portion of those who constituted the new body. Scarcely a doubt was entertained by any one as to the decision to be expected from the bench when Judge Robinson* had such colleagues associ-

* The same Judge Robinson whose decision in the case of the fugitive slave Anderson startled the antislavery mind of Europe and America, and aroused the imperial government to interpose its strong arm between the colonial judge and the once slave but now free man as he stood upon our soil.

ated with him. The decision of the remodeled bench being, as had been anticipated, in favor of the Wesleyans, they kept possession of the Belleville Church, and a new suit was also granted them in the matter of the Waterloo Church.

This latter case came on again at Kingston before Judge Macaulay, one of the old judges. He, after reverting to his former decision in this case, and stating that he had not in the least changed his opinion as to the merits of the case, remarked that as his brother judges differed from him, and they being the majority, had so decided in the case of the Belleville Church, he would advise the jury to give the Wesleyans *one shilling damages*, and then the defendants could appeal to England for a final decision, there being at that time no Court of Chancery in Canada. And just here the question of title remains until this day. The truth is, that the Methodist Episcopal Church had not the means to carry the matter to England. The people, however, soon more than replaced all the property that had been lost. Churches and parsonages have been built throughout the length and breadth of the country. A printing office under the direction of the General Conference has been in operation for more than twenty years. A college at Belleville, with university powers, has been successfully established by the Methodist Episcopal Church, over which Rev. A. Carman, M.A., has for years presided. He is deservedly popular, and is supported by an excellent staff of professors. Our ladies' college is also doing a great and good work in the education of the young females of our rising country.

Delegates were sent to the American General Conference of 1836 from the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada. The address was presented and referred to a special committee; but by some strange means it was stated in the report of that committee that the first conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church after the union was held in June, 1835, and that it was a General Conference. Both of the statements are incorrect, as may be seen by reference to the preceding pages. Their finding their way into a report of the American General Conference gave the enemies of the Methodist Episcopal Church a great advantage, for they urged that all parties had consented to the union for more than a year after its consum-

mation. This misstatement of facts, although evidently not designedly so, did great injustice to the Canada Methodist Episcopal Church, and left an incorrect impression on the minds of the American brethren, which was not removed till the General Conferences of 1860 and 1864. The General Conference of 1836 having the above erroneous understanding of the case, very naturally decided not to interfere, and therefore left the matter an open question. The report alluded to above concludes as follows :

In view of all the circumstances, as far as your committee has been able to ascertain and understand them, they are unanimously of the opinion that the case requires no interference of this General Conference.

The Black River Conference of 1842 was held at Watertown, N. Y., and certain ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada went thither, having been invited by individual members of the conference to be present at its session. Several Wesleyan preachers went over also, and through representations made by them, charging the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada with schism, etc., the ministers of that body were not only not *officially* invited to take seats in the conference, but they were not allowed to reply to a violent attack made on them in open conference by one of the Wesleyan preachers.

This unfair proceeding was afterward deeply regretted by many members of the Black River Conference, and as soon as possible they made the *amende honorable*. The brethren of that conference were evidently misled, as had been the members of the General Conference of 1836. This circumstance, though exceedingly painful at the time to the Methodist Episcopal ministers from Canada, and to the whole Church, yet resulted in good, for it stirred up a spirit of inquiry that continued until the recognition of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada by the American General Conferences of 1860 and 1864. Had the situation of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada been as well understood by the American brethren in 1836 and 1844 as it was in 1860 and 1864, the reports of 1836 and 1844 would doubtless have been altogether different. The Christian courtesy extended to our delegates at Buffalo and Philadelphia, and the act of placing the Methodist Episco-

pal Church of Canada in its proper relation to the parent body, afforded great satisfaction to our people. This latter, though a measure of simple justice, was particularly gratifying to those who had so long suffered odium on account of their unyielding adherence to "the form of sound words" which they had received from their fathers and brethren in the United States.

When the union agitation commenced, the Methodist Episcopal Church was in a very prosperous condition spiritually and numerically. This may be seen by the increase for the seven years immediately preceding that event, which was eight thousand five hundred and thirty-eight. The increase in the Wesleyan body during the next seven years was only three hundred and fifteen; while the shattered remnant of the Methodist Episcopal Church had, during the same period, added to the few hundreds who had stood firm when the leaders of the host proved recreant, and drew away the greater part, an increase of five thousand three hundred and twenty-five. That it was not much larger was chiefly owing to the unsettled state of the country, which caused very many of the members and friends of the Methodist Episcopal Church to emigrate to the Western states. Emigration to the neighboring states is a continual drain upon the population of Canada; but no single denomination loses so many members proportionately as the Methodist Episcopal Church; while, on the other hand, she has gained but little strength from emigration to the province.

Great efforts have been and are still being made to prejudice persons coming into the country against the old Connection because of its, as they say to old country people, American character and tendencies; asserting that the episcopal form of Church government among Methodists is not suited to a British colony, and was designed by Mr. Wesley only for *republican* America, ignoring the idea that it was the Church of England, of which Mr. Wesley was a minister, having ceased in consequence of the old colonies having gained their independence, to be the established Church therein, which caused Mr. Wesley to feel himself at liberty to ordain Dr. Coke to the episcopal office, and to authorize him to organize the Methodists of America into a Church with that form of Church government, rather than the change in the civil government of that country. The Church of England was not the established

Church of Canada, and even if it had been so, the position of the early Methodists in Canada would not of necessity have been the same with regard to it as that occupied by Mr. Wesley and his societies in England. In consequence of incorrect statements in reference to the Methodist Episcopal Church, and appeals to early prejudices, those who came to Canada from Europe generally united with some one of the bodies of Methodists who are under the jurisdiction of conferences in England. Therefore, the Methodist Episcopal Church has almost its only increase from among the people converted to God by the labors of its own ministers, and large numbers of these converts are frequently leaving the province to seek homes for themselves and their families on the immense and fertile prairies of the great West. Another cause of loss to the Methodist Episcopal Church has been, that the members and adherents of that body very generally sympathized with the North in the late struggle of the United States government with the slave power of the South, and as a natural result many of our young men and adherents joined the Northern forces, and have, since the termination of the war, settled in the West.

Notwithstanding all the discouragements and drawbacks with which the Methodist Episcopal Church has had to contend, she has steadily adhered to her first principles; and it has pleased the great Head of the Church to grant a good degree of prosperity to her institutions, and to crown with success her efforts for the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom.

The present strength of the Connection is three annual conferences, with a delegated General Conference which meets once in four years, eleven districts, one hundred and forty-two circuits and stations, two hundred and fifteen preachers, eighteen thousand nine hundred and fifty-seven members, two hundred and two local preachers, one university and ladies' college, three hundred and fifty-four thousand eight hundred and twenty-two dollars' worth of Church property, two hundred and eight Sunday-schools, with one thousand five hundred and eighty officers and teachers, and eleven thousand two hundred and seventy-eight scholars, besides a large number of members and children of the Church who are embraced in the Union Sabbath-schools in neighborhoods where it is judged advisable to unite with other denominations in Sabbath-school work.

These statistics are small when compared with the work being done by the parent body; but when it is remembered that in 1833 the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada was completely stripped, being left with only fourteen preachers traveling and local, three small meeting-houses, and only one thousand one hundred of a membership, it is evident that the Lord has been with his people and blessed them. The day of religious prosperity is but dawning, we trust, upon our fair and peaceful land, and more glorious results may be anticipated in the future.

In addition to the two bodies of Methodists to which this article has been chiefly devoted, there exist several other bodies of Methodists in Canada.

THE CANADIAN WESLEYAN METHODIST CHURCH, the body with the origin of which Mr. Ryan was identified, in 1840 formed a union with the English New Connection Methodists. It has a theological institution, publishes a religious periodical, has an earnest ministry, and a membership of about eight thousand.

Missionaries were sent out to this country many years since by the ENGLISH PRIMITIVE METHODISTS, at the solicitation of members of their societies, who had emigrated to Canada. These were successful in raising many societies, and were several years ago organized into a conference. In numbers they are about equal to the New Connection, and, like that body, have their head in England. They are pious and laborious, publish a religious periodical, and are preparing to establish an educational institution.

THE BIBLE CHRISTIANS are also a scion of an English stock, essentially Methodist, and known as such, though the word does not appear in their cognomen. They are somewhat similar in character to the Primitives, and are perhaps not very far behind them in numbers.

The Evangelists, or GERMAN METHODISTS, as they are called by their Canadian neighbors, confine their labors generally to the German-speaking population, among whom they are doing a good work. There are two branches of these.

There are a considerable number of colored Methodists having distinct Church organizations of their own, chiefly in the cities and towns.

Whatever differences of opinion may exist upon minor

points between these various branches of the great Methodist family, they are all laboring, each in its own way, to "spread scriptural holiness throughout the land." The influence of the Methodists in the country may be judged of from the fact that in the statistics given of the new Dominion they are set down altogether as constituting twenty-five per cent. of the population of the Province of Ontario, formerly Upper Canada.

ART. III.—GUIZOT ON THE STATE OF RELIGION IN FRANCE.

Meditations on the Actual State of Christianity, and on the Attacks which are now being made upon it. By M. GUIZOT. Translated under the Superintendence of the Author. 12mo., pp. 390. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1867.

ANOTHER volume from M. Guizot! The literary world cannot afford to ignore the fact, and in the present case the Church will not be so disposed. After having signalized his earlier years by brilliant scholastic successes, and his vigorous manhood by brave battling on the field of politics, M. Guizot has for the last twenty years been devoting his matured powers to a more special study of the great problems of human destiny—morals, religion, Christianity. Nor is there the least room for the possible sneer, that religion comes in for the most worthless share of his life; for, to pass over in silence the fact that during the whole of his professional and political career M. Guizot maintained an unblemished Christian reputation, it is not very common that the latter years of long lives present a different moral tinge from the earlier. Voltaire persisted in his bitterness and scorn, and Rousseau in his misanthropy and uncleanness, not only through youth and manhood, but also, and with increasing violence, as hoary age advanced. These later years of Guizot are but the natural outgrowth and fit crowning of the earlier. As the study of the facts and principles of history and philosophy prepared for their practical application in legislation and politics, so a thorough familiarity with the wants of society and the difficulties of governing men, led to the consideration of the great truths that underlie all history, should inspire all legislation, and would, to a large

degree, alleviate all the ills of humanity—the truths of religion. The first specifically religious book of M. Guizot appeared in 1851. Since then other similar works have been published; but the final and crowning effort of his life will doubtless be the fourfold work, “Meditations on the Christian Religion,” which was announced in 1864, and of which the volume now under consideration is a second installment.

The first volume* treated of the essential dogmas of Christianity, and was, therefore, of general interest. The present volume, though entitled “Meditations on the Actual State of Christianity,” is, more strictly speaking, rather a survey of the efforts that have been made since the advent of the first Napoleon for the advancement of Christianity in France, and of the special forms of infidelity that have there been opposed to that movement. Nor does this limitation detract from its worth: in respect of clearness and fullness it even adds thereto. And surely the religious condition of one of the great European nations is a topic of sufficient moment to interest Christians every-where. Moreover, the principles here defended, the arguments adduced, are valid universally; while the special forms of error that are combated are ever reappearing along the whole course of history, and even at the doors of our own hearts. So that this second volume, no less than the first, may well claim the attention of the whole Christian Church. It is clothed in the same classic form, treats of the same lofty principles, and breathes the same reverential spirit. It reveals the same freedom from narrow sectarianism, the same catholicity and generousness of sentiment, and, withal, the same unswerving fidelity where the cause of essential truth is involved.

The present volume falls into two nearly equal general divisions: the first sketching the awakening of Christianity in France in the nineteenth century; the second attacking the different foes of the Church under the heads of Spiritualism, Rationalism, Positivism, Pantheism, Materialism, Skepticism, and general Impiety. The first division is quite fully treated, abounds in rare and curious facts, and is highly flavored with piquant semi-autobiographical incidents, the long life of M. Guizot having brought him into intimate relations with most

* See Dr. Stevens's Recension in the Methodist Quarterly Review, Oct. 1865.

of the great actors, both for and against the Church, during this whole period. The second consists of short essays, which for their brevity are all the more pointed, resuming and enforcing great central truths, avoiding details, and appealing, not to abstruse metaphysical reasonings, but to the universal intuitions, to the common sense, of mankind. By the Church M. Guizot understands, not Protestantism alone, but Christianity under all its forms. As, therefore, Romanism is largely the predominant Church in France, the first third of his book is devoted to a survey of French Catholicism. It shall be the design of this paper to give a general notion of the spirit and contents of the work.

When at the opening of this century the storms and madness of the French Revolution had abated their violence, and men could again cast a calm glance over the troubled surface of society, it was found that the external organism of religion had been almost entirely swept away. Cathedrals, parish churches, and Protestant temples were every-where to be seen in neglect, profanation, or ruin. In outward appearance religion had really been abolished, and banished from the land. But the bitter experience of the effects of Atheism had wrought conviction in the minds of all thoughtful men, even speculative Atheists themselves, that religion of some sort is indispensably necessary to civil order. To meet this felt want in his own way, one of the five Directors actually attempted, in 1797, to invent and inaugurate a new religion, Theophilanthropism. Consulting Talleyrand as to the best mode of procedure, the wily diplomatist sarcastically replied: "I have but a single observation to make: Jesus Christ, to found his religion, suffered himself to be crucified, and he rose again. You should try to do as much." The sarcasm was based on profound insight. Four years sufficed to dissipate both the new religion and its high priest from the minds of men.

But there was a better remedy at hand. Though the visible ministrations of Christianity had been banished from the public eye, still its inward essence, its hidden power, its secret comfortings of the hearts of a mourning, war-wasted, poverty-stricken people had continued their effectual working; and vast multitudes, both Catholic and Protestant, had persisted, even when the terror was at the highest, in assembling for

Christian communion, either openly, in defiance of atheistic law, or secretly, under the cover of night or in the solitude of the desert. Under a common ban, pastors and priests drew nearer to the center of religion, felt more like brethren serving a common Lord, and gave in some cases truly edifying examples of apostolic faith and virtue. Christianity, however imperfectly held by any of the great modern nations, has a vastly firmer grasp on the hearts of the people than many are disposed to believe. It only needed the slacking of external pressure for Christianity in France to rise out of the obscurity of hearts and deserts, reconstruct its external organism, and again take triumphant possession of public sentiment. And, in fact, before the conclusion of the Concordat between Bonaparte and the Pope in 1802, by which both the Catholic and Protestant Churches were chained to the car of state, thousands of societies had spontaneously reorganized in all parts of the land, and were quietly proceeding, on the voluntary system, to support their own pastors and prosecute their divine mission. This interference of Bonaparte—which is too favorably viewed by Guizot—wrought hinderingly and blighting on the happily-begun movement, introducing into it a political element, and imposing upon it police regulations, the dwarfing effects of which are suffered to this day by the whole Church of France. Christian spontaneity was checked; and all self-regenerative or aggressively-evangelizing activities of the Church were henceforth to be permitted only in specifically legalized channels. Little wonder, then, that the Church could but half fulfill her mission—that France is to-day but a half-Christian nation. The comfortable civil salaries settled upon both priests and pastors tempted them to worldliness, chilled their ardor, paralyzed the flocks, and, as the despot had foreseen, prepared the nation for tamely stooping under the yoke of despotism. But there were not wanting noble spirits whose energetic efforts broke through all obstacles, and stamped a healing influence on the slumbering nation.

The year 1802 found an offset to the Concordat in the appearance of the *Génie du Christianisme*, a work which, by clothing the relative and intrinsic beauties of Christianity in the seductive charms of mystic poesy and overpowering eloquence, called away the godless from the vapid literature of

the day, and evoked in the hearts both of believers and of the indifferent the enchanting visions of chivalric virtue and martyr heroism. This happy impulse was seconded by the two powerful writers De Bonald and De Maistre, who, however, damagingly compromised the cause of religion by blending it with politics, and by being unable to "discover any other remedy for anarchy than absolutism." Of a different spirit was the celebrated Abbé de la Mennais, a man inspired at first with the noblest Christian impulses, but who, when thwarted in his cherished scheme of reforming the Church, turned his powerful weapons against the same, and became the apostle of an impracticable and impossible democracy. Placing the grounds of authority, not in revelation, but in the general consent or reason of mankind, he "was at the same time the proudest worshiper of his own reason." Though thus finally deserting the cause himself, it is due to his name that he be placed among the defenders of religion; for "he thundered to purpose against the gross and vulgar forgetfulness of the great moral interests of humanity."

The Revolution of 1830 inflicted a rude blow on the reactionary politics which, for some time, had been so encouraged by the Jesuits, and created in the Catholic camp a new and powerful party—Liberals and at the same time Ultramontanists—who undertook the Herculean task of reconciling the claims of Catholicism with the principles of modern political liberty. The priests Lacordaire, La Mennais, and Gerbet, and the statesman Montalembert, stood prominently at the head of the party. A journal, the *Avenir*, was established for the defense of public liberty, the largest independency of the Church on the State, and the most unquestioning submission of the Church to its spiritual head, the Pope. Its novel tone, its passionate audacity, stirred Europe, and disquieted both the civil government and the Roman See. After two years of sincere and ardent struggle "to reconcile Catholicism with the world," the chiefs of the party, Lacordaire, La Mennais, and Montalembert, repaired to Rome and insisted that the Pope should decisively pronounce himself either for or against them. An adverse encyclical of August, 1832, condemned their principles, and threw the three champions into momentary despair. The proud spirit of La Mennais could not renounce its liberal

convictions, and from this moment dates the beginning of his revolt, not only against Romanism, but against essential Christianity. The other two yielded for the time, but hoped for a better-advised Pope in the future, and continued to labor for the reconciliation of Catholicism with modern liberty—the one as an eloquent preacher, the other as a brilliant politician; the one by his powerful defenses of Christianity from the pulpit of Notre Dame winning the hearts of thousands of the young and wavering, the other by his upright statesmanship persistently laboring to imbue with Christian principles the legislation of his country.

M. Guizot regrets that the Pope saw fit to condemn and check their more specifically ecclesiastical efforts. It retarded the reformatory transformation which must and will, sooner or later, take place in the Catholic Church, and put it in harmony with modern ideas. He maintains that the government of Louis Philippe, in which himself had so large a share, earnestly strove in this direction: "I affirm, that from 1830 to 1848 the prince whom I had the honor to serve, and the cabinets to which I had the honor to belong, not only always had at heart the maintenance, however difficult, of the principle of religious liberty, but that they always felicitated themselves upon the progress made by the Christian faith, even when the manner of that progress was for them a source of serious embarrassment." Among the embarrassments alluded to were the efforts made to introduce various monastic orders, the unpopularity of which occasioned political commotions. In 1841 Lacordaire returned from Rome in the costume of a Dominican monk, and began the imprudent work of resuscitating that ill-omened order in France. But M. Guizot regards the prejudice against them as without just ground: "To what pretensions of ambition have these monks laid claim? what turbulent disposition have they manifested? They have paced meekly along our streets; they have preached eloquently in our churches; they have founded some houses of education; they have made use of their rights as freemen, without offering in any way to infringe the liberty of any other class of citizens." And what were the fruits of Lacordaire's efforts? Other priests, like him, "scrupled not to devote themselves to a common life and a common rule, 'to work together,' accord-

ing to their own expressions, 'to secure the triumph of Christian truth, and its triumph by means of philosophy and science.'" Among the re-established brotherhoods is the congregation of the *Oratoire*, an order which, though yet small and poor, and desirous of remaining so, already numbers some of the first modern Christian scholars, such as Gratry and Valvolger.

But what part have the higher French clergy taken in this great work of regenerating the nation? Occupied at first in reorganizing the shattered organism of the Church, and influenced by the fear of a possible return of the horrors of the Reign of Terror, "the clergy of this epoch have been justly reproached with their uniform obsequiousness to the Emperor Napoleon. No doubt it was a shameful spectacle, in 1811, which those docile bishops afforded, when they assembled in council, and were never weary of lavishing caresses upon the despot who had not only stripped the chief of their Church, Pius VII., of his dominions, but was then detaining him a prisoner at Savona, denying his natural counselors, the cardinals, all access to him, refusing him even a secretary to write his letters, and charging an officer of the *gendarmérie* to watch by day and by night all his movements." Still, the violent measures of Napoleon did not fail to meet with some episcopal rebukes.

Under the Restoration it was no longer fear but hope—an ill-grounded hope—of regaining the civil position held by them before 1789, that misled the French clergy and checked the progress of roused Christianity. On the whole, however, the clergy were even less reactionary, "more resigned to the new state of society than King Charles X. and his intimate friends."

Prominent and worthy of honorable mention among the French clergy are: Bishop Frayssinous, who, "while remaining the faithful servant of the Church, showed himself also rather the friend of Christian peace than the jealous advocate of ecclesiastical power;" the Jesuit Ravignan, who as a "pious Christian and a stranger to every mental reservation," held society for years entranced with the accents of a seraphic and awakening eloquence; the able professors, Lenormant and Bautain; and the judicious and liberal authors, Gerbet and Dupanloup.

A passing glance at the Catholic charities. Between 1820 and 1848 there were established in France no less than one hundred and seven charitable societies. "In the year 1822 the idea struck two poor servants at Lyons to make the rounds of their parish and collect weekly one *sou* from each person, in aid of the conversion of infidels." This gave rise to an association the receipts of which in the year 1864 amounted to 5,090,041 francs. In 1833 eight young men, "wishing," said Lacordaire, "to give one more proof of what Christianity can effect in behalf of the poor, began to ascend to those upper stories which were the hidden haunts of the misery of their quarter. Men saw youths in the flower of their age and fresh from school regularly visiting, without any feeling of repulsion, the most abject habitations, and conveying to their unknown and suffering tenants a passing vision of charity." The eight soon grew to thousands, and girded the globe with benefactions. In 1862 when the government, unwisely thinks M. Guizot, dissolved the central bond of the society, "it consisted of about thirty thousand members, who visited in their homes more than one hundred thousand indigent families." Under Louis Philippe the Sisters of Charity increased from a few hundred to sixteen thousand. The Society of Little Sisters of the Poor, founded in 1845, "receives and succors in their establishment nearly twenty thousand aged men." A single monkish brotherhood maintained in 1865 nine hundred and twenty schools, with three hundred and thirty-five thousand three hundred and eighty-two pupils. During the last fifty years no less than ten thousand churches have been built, rebuilt, or adapted to the Romish service. All these facts are regarded by M. Guizot as so many signs of really Christian advancement.

When the Revolution of 1848 was giving to the state a new framework the Romish clergy "did not aspire to exert any influence for or against any party; they sought only to purify the republic by securing in it a place for religion, . . . planting the cross of Jesus by the side of the tree of liberty. Though a liberal system of public instruction was now installed, the Catholics entered into active competition with the state schools." "The Jesuits since the year 1850 have opened twenty colleges for secondary instruction, and have founded at Paris, for

courses of study preparatory to the special schools, an establishment whose successes have attracted the attention of the government and of the public; for it sends every year to the military schools—the Polytechnic, Naval, or Central—an extraordinary number of successful candidates, who have passed with honor, although the competition has been extensive and the examinations severe.” And these active efforts have not been uncalled for. A formidable enemy is in the field, and dealing against the Church terrible blows. The work of reconciling the Church to modern science is felt to be more than ever an imperative necessity; and leading Catholic liberals—Dupanloup, Montalembert, Broglie, Cochin, Laboulaye—are manfully laboring to render Romanism less vulnerable to the Protean forms of infidelity which are now so widely poisoning all classes of French society.

In passing from the Catholics to the Protestants of France, M. Guizot finds himself in narrow and humbler quarters. So great is the tendency to centralization, to unity in Church and State, in French society, that it has ever proved for Protestantism an unsafe or an unsalubrious soil. The history of the Reformed Church in France is a sad chronicle of a feeble, persecuted, outlawed, banished, or at best despised, sect. Governmental opposition may account for their insignificance before the Revolution of 1789. For the last seventy-five years, however, they have enjoyed the same favors, stood on the same legal footing, as the Catholics, and yet their condition to-day is only too much like their puny, discouraging past. Special reasons for this there may be. So long as the ban of outlawry hung over them, there arose here and there among them heroic prophets, zeal-consumed pastors, who, bearing from hearth to hearth, from hamlet to desert, the blazing truth-torch, kept freshly glowing in the little, scattered flock, the primitive faith. But when the age of Voltaire came and flooded the land with frivolity and doubt—when the waves of the godless Revolution swept away all the landmarks of the past—the faith of many was shaken, and pastors, abandoning their flocks, plunged into the bloody career of politics, in some cases openly apostatizing from the religion of their fathers. After the Revolution, when men had returned to their senses, the Protestant Church would doubtless have arisen with re-

newed youth from her ashes, and begun a glorious future, had not even a greater evil than persecution now befallen her—her being transformed by Napoleon into a state religion co-ordinate with Romanism, and her pastors into salaried public functionaries. The system effected a moral paralysis. Many pastors lacked in evangelical zeal, the worship was perfunctorily celebrated, and the flocks fell into formalism and indifference. As early as 1812 a professor of the Protestant faculty at Montauban attacked the dogma of the Trinity, and inaugurated the Rationalistic movement, which has culminated in the Deism of Athanase Coquerel, Junior. But the true faith was worthily championed by Daniel Encontre and Samuel Vincent, the former an able scholar and of the primitive Huguenot type, the latter a profound metaphysician and imbued with the spirit of German Pietism.

At the beginning of this century the Reformed Church of Geneva was in the lowest stage of Rationalism. Between 1810 and 1817 an evangelical reaction was inaugurated by a few native pastors, Gaussen, Malan, Gonthier, Merle d'Aubigné, seconded by the zeal of a few English missionaries, Robert Haldane, Mark Wilks, etc. "Certain young pastors who had at first shared in the evangelical movement at Geneva, Neff, Pyt, Bost, Gonthier, scattered themselves over France, some assuming functions as local pastors, others as traveling missionaries, attracting to their proximity groups of zealous Protestants, animating the lukewarm, and erecting in every place where they made any stay little centers of Christianity, which radiated to the neighboring country around." At one time as many as sixty colporteurs were engaged in distributing the Scriptures. Relatively to the past the state of Protestantism had greatly improved.

On the death of Encontre, in 1818, the evangelical cause was happily led on by Alexandre Vinet and Adolphe Monod. The former, an able theologian, elegant critic, and convicting preacher, gave shape and impulse to a movement which has already borne abundant fruit, and is destined indirectly to regenerate the whole French Church. He clearly saw that the curse of French Protestantism was its union with the state, and under his inspiration a Free Church was formed, which, after attaining to considerable strength in Switzerland, and be-

neficiently reacting on the frigid State Churches, has spread itself throughout France with equally cheering results. Though less numerous than the Reformed Church, it far surpasses it in literary and evangelical life, and is ably represented at Paris by the theologian Pressensé, the pastor Bersier, and the historian Rosseeuw Saint Hilaire. M. Adolphe Monod, who was less profound than Vinet, but surpassed him in religious fervor and popular power, actively promoted the Free Church cause in France, first at Lyons, then at Montauban and Paris. Both of these men were approved of God, Christians of the noblest stamp, whose names remain a perennial sweet fragrance in all the French Churches.

M. Guizot passes over almost in silence the deadly conflict between Rationalism and Orthodoxy which is now rending to its center the Reformed Church of France, and from which, because of its union with the state, it is utterly powerless to free itself. Governed by laws not of its own making, it has no remedy against a pastor who, once settled over an Orthodox Church, may afterward apostatize to Rationalism or Deism. Hence such anomalies as that of the *Oratoire*, the chief Church of Paris, where, of the several pastors who alternately officiate, some are warmly evangelical while others are ultra-rationalistic. For years several notorious pastors have been, on a relatively larger scale, playing the Colenso in France, and the state Church there is even more helpless than is that of England.

M. Guizot terminates his survey of French Protestantism with the same cheering words that he had previously applied to Catholicism. "Under the influence of the causes which I have pointed out, Christian faith has evidently made progress; Christian science, progress; Christian charity, as shown by works, progress; Christian force, progress; progress incomplete and insufficient, but still progress, real, and full of fruit, symptomatic of vital energy and future promise."

Having devoted so much of this paper to the historical part of M. Guizot's book, we can touch but lightly on the charming chapters in which, in a descending series, he examines and judges the various systems which are now, and have for some time been, opposed to Christianity in France.

Spiritualism, a philosophical school, which, displacing the

sensualism of Condillac, and basing itself on the higher principles of Reid as modified by the criticism of Kant, received shape at the beginning of this century from the minds of Royer-Collard, Maine de Biran, Cousin, and Jouffroy, and in our own day has numbered among its disciples some of the best minds of France, such as Rémusat, Damiron, Franck, Saisset, Caro, Janet, and Jules Simon, has, in one respect, rendered eminent service to the cause of truth. It has given psychology a place "among the positive sciences;" it has "set in the broad light of day the real and fundamental principles of morals, the distinction as to the essentials of moral good and evil, as well as the law of obligation, that 'categorical imperative,' the sole refuge which Kant found against Skepticism;" and it has the honor of having firmly established and rendered plain the psychological fact of the freedom of the human will—laying in man's liberty and in man's responsibility the legitimate foundation of political liberty, as well as that of the personal morality of man and of man's future.

But the defects of Spiritualism are only too evident. It has been "at once too timid and too proud." It has refused to follow out its own principles to their legitimate results, and, "not having succeeded in advancing the torch of science into the regions where access to it is denied, it has refused to accept the light descending upon man by another way than that of science." Saisset and Jules Simon have even striven to construct a natural religion independently of all revelation, but with poor success. "For other things than such drops of science are required to appease the thirst of humanity for religion." The errors of Spiritualism led naturally to something worse.

The chapter on Rationalism, though brief, contains some pertinent observations. "Philosophy, like poetry, is full of personifications that mislead; the one personified by images, the other by abstractions." "Condillac and his disciples had set apart [abstracted] and specially studied in man the faculty of sensation, and they were thereby led to make out of this faculty, and out of it alone, man himself and the whole man. Kant and his school considered particularly in man the faculty of reason and judgment, and very soon reason came with them to constitute the whole man. . . . It became in his school, and

in the schools akin to it, pre-eminently the intellectual substance, the basis of man and of philosophy; and the human being himself, in his personal unity, with all his life and free will, entirely disappeared from their teaching." This method necessarily leads to error. Man is a unit, and must be studied in his entirety. His instincts, his innate thirsts, the universal longings of his heart, are as essential and as significant elements of his nature as his reason. A system that ignores any of these elements is faulty. A sufficient condemnation of Rationalism is its blighting effects on the more generous impulses of the soul. Ages of Christian heroism and remarkable self-sacrifice, of religious as well as of poetic enthusiasm, are ages of faith—of belief in the supernatural and in dogmas which the reason cannot fully comprehend. Professor Scherer expresses thus his fears as to the tendencies of a rationalism in which he himself is entangled:

When Christianity is rendered translucent to man's mind, conformable to man's reason and man's moral appreciation of things, does it still possess any great virtue? Does it not very much resemble Deism, and is it not equally lean and sterile? Does not the potent influence of religious belief reside in its dogmatic formulas and marvelous legends just as much as in any thing more essentially religious that it possesses? Is there not even somewhat of superstition in genuine piety, and is it possible for piety to dispense with that popular system of metaphysics, that attractive mythology, which men strive to eliminate from it? Do not the elements which you pretend to extract from religion constitute the alloy, without which the precious metal becomes unsuitable for the rough usages of life? In short, when criticism shall have succeeded in overthrowing the supernatural as useless, and dogmas as irrational; when the religious sentiment on the one side, and a scrupulous reason on the other, shall have penetrated man's belief, assimilated and transformed it; when no other authority shall remain standing save that of the personal conscience of each individual; when, in a word, man, having torn away every vail, and penetrated every mystery, shall behold that God face to face to whom he aspires, will it not be discovered that God is, after all, nothing else than man himself, the conscience and the reason of humanity personified?

The fundamental errors of Rationalism are, that it mutilates man, ignoring some of the essential elements of his nature, and that it pushes the pretensions of science beyond their legitimate limits. Spiritualism "is inconsequent and timid, although respectful and modest. Rationalism, on the contrary, is pre-

sumptuous and audacious; its ambition is to see clearly, to touch what is in the center of the sanctuary, as it sees and touches what is on its outside. Its pretension is that it may study and know, by its ordinary processes, as well the invisible world, its sovereign and its laws, as the visible world in which man is now placed; and it wars upon Christianity because Christianity admits no such pretension."

Positivism, the next antichristian system examined, created much noise some twenty years ago, and is yet ably represented by Littré at Paris, and Mill in England. M. Guizot, who was intimately acquainted with its founder, Comte, speaks of him thus: "He was a man, single-minded, honest, of profound convictions, devoted to his own ideas, in appearance modest, although at heart prodigiously vain; he sincerely believed that it was his calling to open a new era for the mind of man and for human society." Of a mind vigorous and yet narrow, he was subject to paroxysms of profound melancholy, and had more than once attempted suicide, though generally his one conviction, that it was his destiny to revolutionize science, and inaugurate the golden age of the world, held triumphant sway. Conceiving of human history as consisting of three ascending stages of development, the theological, the metaphysical, and the positive, he felt it high time that a prophet should arise to lead forth mankind out of the bondage of superstition and speculation, and triumphantly domiciliate them in the promised green pastures of positive science. Each of these stages was the negation, the abolition, of the preceding. "My positive philosophy," said Comte, "is incompatible with every theological or metaphysical philosophy, and consequently equally so with every corresponding system of policy." The fundamental idea of Positivism is, that matter, its forces and laws, are the sole objects of human knowledge, the sole domain of the human mind. "Every religious belief, every spiritual doctrine, God and the human soul, are discarded by Positivism, and treated as arbitrary and transitory hypotheses, which, however they may have conduced to the development of humanity, ought now to be rejected by human reason, just as the foot may throw down the ladder which has enabled it to mount to the summit." Properly speaking, Positivism is simply materialistic Atheism. Its vices lie on the surface.

Like the Rationalists, "M. Comte mutilates the human mind, because he fails to observe it and to recognize it in its entirety." Serious among its vices is the fact that it annihilates the freedom of the human will, has no place for moral or civil liberty. Fatalism is the dire inexorable law which dominates man no less than the world in which he lives.

M. Comte's threefold dissection of history is artificial and arbitrary. The theological, metaphysical, and positive states do not succeed and negative each other, but exist concomitantly, with periods of relative preponderancy, in every cultured nation, in every enlightened individual. Plato, Cicero, Augustine, Leibnitz—all harmoniously great minds, unite in themselves all three states—are at once theologians, metaphysicians, and scientists. The three directions of inquiry are but the legitimate expressions of primitive and essential elements of the soul. The desire for theologic truth is even a more deeply implanted, more universal, more unquenchable thirst of humanity than that for physical truth.

The whole system of Positivism rests on a curious compound of dogmatic assumption and radical misconception of anthropological truth. Its one-sidedness, its utter inadequacy to meet the deeper cravings of humanity, seems finally to have dawned on the mind of its author. And to meet this defect, he attempted toward the close of his career—some say in a period of insanity—to transform Positivism into a religion. Personifying humanity into a God, he constituted himself a high pontiff, and framed a positivist catechism, with a calendar all teeming with positivist saints.

Emerging from the stifling godless gloom of Positivism, M. Guizot turns his eyes to the giddy heights of Pantheism. "Do we wish," says he, "to behold a spectacle of how weak the human mind really is in the midst of all its grandeur, and of the limits which must finally and abruptly check its progress, however high its flight, we will read Plotinus, Spinoza, and Hegel, three martyrs to intellectual ambition, differing very much according to the difference of the eras and the nations to which they respectively belong, but similar in this point at least, that they ignore the visible world, and leave it behind them, to enter that world which dazzles their sight, where they

plunge into a void in quest of what they call *being*." Two passions have tempted to Pantheism men of eminent powers: the desire for universal science, and the passion for unity, "both noble feelings, but illegitimate and incapable of satisfaction." But even if they were realizable they would not work human happiness. Man hungers for more than knowledge; and Spinoza is wrong when he places "the highest degree of human felicity in the highest degree of human knowledge." "There are," says Scherer, "more things in heaven and upon earth than philosophy—than even the philosophy 'of the Absolute'—can explain. . . . To comprehend God, it needs to be God. A child might have said as much to Hegel." The clew to the errors of Pantheism is its unscientific method. The only true method, the exact study of facts and their relations, "was formerly, and remains still, strange to the Pantheists; to Spinoza as to Plotinus, to Hegel as to Spinoza." "For observation of facts and their laws, they substitute the affirmation and the definition of an axiom, and the deduction, logical, it is true, of its consequences. They disdain and set aside all study of the realities of the universe, believing themselves to be in possession of a key to open its secrets." But their key is a deception, and their inferences fallacious.

Psychology clearly establishes three facts: that man universally and intuitively believes in his own personality, in the freedom of his will, and in the existence of good and evil. These facts Pantheism ignores, or omits, or formally denies. Spinoza denies them openly. The acts of man, like the facts of nature, result from fatal laws and causes. "Free will is a chimaera." "Nothing is bad in itself." Hegel was less blind, more cautious. "Of a mind large, and from its greatness naturally just, he escaped at moments the yoke of his system. Struck by the particular truths, moral, historical, esthetic, that offered themselves to his view in the theater of the universe, he admitted them without very well knowing what place he should assign to them." But the offshoots, the fruits, of his system have been bitter enough—Idealism, Humanism, Atheism, Skepticism. For the worship of God it has substituted self-adoration; for theology, anthropology; for prayer, self-contemplation; for divine law, the human will.

"Such is the inevitable result at which Pantheism, even that kind termed Idealistic Pantheism, ultimately arrives, whatever the elevation of mind and the morality of intent in its first authors. This is no scientific doctrine founded upon the observation of facts and their laws; it is an hypothesis framed by dint of violent abstractions, verbal commutations and reasoning, in the blindness of a thought drunk with itself. Under the breath of Pantheism all beings—real and personal beings—vanish and are replaced by an abstraction. . . . Was there ever, in the conceptions of mythology, or in the mystical dreams of the human imagination, any thing so artificial, any thing so vain, as this hypothesis, which at its very beginning, as well as throughout its entire course, loses sight of the best-attested facts respecting man and the world; and, shocking equally science and common sense, departs as much from the method of philosophy as from the spontaneous instincts of mankind?"

But another and more dangerous, because more popular, foe of religion is that form of Materialism which now, to such an alarming extent, prevails among the teachers of physical science. It is atheistic. "It sees God neither in the universe nor in man; the eternal world and ephemeral individuals are, in its eyes, only combinations and different forms of matter."

"Two things strike me in the actual state of men's minds: the progress that Materialism is making, and its constant timidity in that very progress." Its progress is undeniable. Tacitly admitted and hesitatingly defended by many sober, studious men, by a few it is openly professed and defiantly proclaimed with all its terrible consequences; though "the most distinguished of its adepts struggle to give explanations that look like disavowals, and many repudiate the charge of being Materialists as if it were an insult." This general hesitation is full of significance. It is the voice of humanity making itself felt in spite of theorists, and proclaiming that neither the universe nor man is exclusively matter; that man is a spiritual, moral, being. The soul will not resolve itself into sensations, nor be quenched in the crucible. Though acting in and through the body, it is something higher than brain, or nervous fluid, or light, or electricity, or impersonal force. To explain its separate entity and its union with the

body into one complex being, is one of the great problems of philosophy. Materialism is an hypothesis that explains the problem by suppressing it, by denying that this complexity is a fact. "Man is only a product and an ephemeral form of matter."

"Nothing," says Vacherot, "proves that the hypothesis of Materialism is true; on the contrary, positive facts evidence its falsity. . . . If the soul be only the result of the play of the organs, how is it that the soul is able to resist the impressions and appetites of the body, to direct, concentrate, and govern its faculties? If the will be but the instinct in a different form, how explain its empire over the instinct? This fact is an irresistible argument; it is the rock upon which Materialism has always wrecked itself, and upon which it will continue to do so." The system has been refuted times without number. Socrates and Plato did it in a masterly manner more than two thousand years ago.

Under a sense of the weakness of their old hypothesis, modern naturalists have added to it a second. Unable to explain facts by matter alone, they imagine it as endowed from eternity with a certain active power—force—and set up as a maxim, "No force without matter, no matter without force." But what is this blind, impersonal, and yet wonder-working *force*? Is it not a mere empty name invented as a substitute for the disliked terms, Supreme Reason, or God? Weighed in the balance of sound reason, Materialism is found to be a mere hypothesis, resting, like Pantheism, on purely verbal assertions.

Passing over M. Guizot's pertinent essay on Skepticism, we notice some of his concluding remarks as to the temper now manifested toward religion by French society in general.

"Three dispositions of mind are very observable and very general—impiety, recklessness as to religion, and religious perplexity. . . . Impiety is spreading and assuming serious development, more especially among the operative classes, and in that young generation that issues from the middle classes, and is destined to follow the liberal professions." But "recklessness in religion is, in our days, a more widely-spread evil than impiety." Under its influence men neither give any attention to the problem of their higher destiny, nor imagine

that there is any ground for so doing. It is among the most formidable obstacles that now confront the Church.

But there is another evil that deserves more gentle treatment—honest religious perplexity. It troubles not only many deep thinkers and profound scholars, “it causes agitation, and spreads desolation among multitudes of single-minded, modest, and silent men, who suffer from the antichristian *malaria* spread around them. What framer of statistics shall count their number? what philosopher minister successfully to their disease?”

Of remarkable instances of this perplexity among profound thinkers, M. Guizot cites two—Vacherot and Scherer. The former, a believer in supernatural absolute truth, a valiant antagonist of Materialism, Positivism, and Pantheism, comes finally, under the fatal guidance of a system that ignores the true limits of human inquiry, to be a Pantheist in spite of himself. “And these incoherences, these contradictions, these relapses of M. Vacherot into systems that he disavows, and that he has just combated, what are they but striking evidences of the vanity of his efforts, like those of so many others, to explain, unaided by God, God and the universe?”

M. Scherer’s perplexities are not those of the metaphysician, but those of the critic. From being a zealous Christian believer he was thrown into doubt by the examination of systems and dogmas, and is now lurking in the mazes of a dark labyrinth, searching for the truth, but unable to find it. Though inquiring for a remedy for the moral ailments of humanity, of which he has a profound sentiment, he is doubtless destined to long disappointment, for his is a mind hard to please; demanding overpowering or mathematical, and not content with moral, evidence.

Such is a general outline of the plan and method of the work of M. Guizot.

It is a book well worthy of a place in the study of the minister and at the fireside of the family—worthy because of the position of the philosopher and statesman, who honors Christianity not less by his pen than by his noble life and unsullied name; worthy because of the healthful, generous, catholic spirit that pervades it; worthy because of the intrinsic interest and able treatment of the matter it contains.

ART. IV.—THE REFORMATION OF CRIMINALS.

Our Convicts. By MARY CARPENTER. 2 vols., 8vo. London: Longman. Boston: Roberts.

Report on the Prisons and Reformatories of the United States and Canada. By E. C. WINES, D.D., LL.D., and THEODORE W. DWIGHT, LL.D., Commissioners of the Prison Association of New York. 1867.

Twenty-second Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Prison Association of New York.

Reports of Massachusetts' Board of Charities. 1864-67.

Special Report on Prisons and Prison Discipline. Made under the authority of the Board of State Charities, Massachusetts, by the Secretary of the Board, F. B. SANBORN, Esq.

DR. WAYLAND, who was for a number of years the President of the Prison Discipline Society of Rhode Island, and in this period effected economical and moral changes in the State Prison of the most gratifying character, to which we shall allude hereafter, once remarked, "If the Saviour were to visit the city of Providence, I do not know any place where he would be more likely to be found than here." (In the prison.) At another time he said, "I love to present the Gospel to these poor fellows in all its precious promises. How adapted it is to meet the wants of just such men!"*

Prisons themselves, during the last half century, have felt the benign charity and power of Christianity. Howard, the devoted Gurney family, and the Prison Discipline Societies of Europe and America, have not labored in vain. Damp and miasmatic dungeons, unwholesome and insufficient food, the indiscriminate herding of different ages, characters, and sexes, (except in the instances of local jails and places of detention, which to this hour remain a blot upon our Christian civilization,) have given way to costly structures, erected with regard to all the natural wants of man, as to ventilation, heat, exercise, labor, and care in sickness, and classified, to a degree, as to age, sex, and moral condition. The tendency in some of our States is to extreme expense in the architectural design and execution of the prison. A very considerable proportion of this, without abating in any degree the sanitary, humane, or industrial conveniences of the prison, might be diverted to preventive measures for the cure of crime, to moral appliances for the reformation of the criminal, or to his aid and super-

* Memoir of the Life and Labors of Dr. Wayland, vol. ii, page 347.

vision when he enters society afresh to struggle with temptation. When the late Senator Douglas visited Augusta, Maine, a few years before his death, the carriage in which he was driven through the city was stopped in front of an imposing granite building in the heart of the town. "This, I presume," he said, glancing over the stately proportions of the edifice, "is your State-house?" "No," was the answer, "it is our county jail." The error was natural, for in point of fact the prison was a handsomer and more costly structure than the state capitol, a half mile distant upon the same street.* In his own adopted state, at Joliet, Illinois, the Senator could have found an even more imposing castellated Gothic structure, of immense proportions, and erected at an expense of a million of dollars, devoted to the restraint and punishment of state criminals.† A Christian temper toward the criminal does not require such an outlay upon the outside of the cell, nor suggest that the deterrent character of the place of punishment should be shorn of any of its proper appendages of shame. Severely simple should be the style of its architecture; and while it should, in no measure, be an offense to the eye, it certainly should not attract by its elegance or stateliness. Thousands for reformation, but not a dollar for show, should be the motto of prison Commissioners in the erection of such buildings.

Great and wholesome changes in the criminal laws of the Christian world, and in their administration, have also been made. One of the most eloquent and efficient agents in the early movements in this direction, Lord Brougham,‡ still lingers, alone of his peers, at an advanced age, preserving a remarkable interest in this and other provinces of social science, which he has done so much to develop. Severe and cruel punishments have been discarded, capital punishment has been limited to the willful taking of human life, and the measure of imprisonment has been made to conform in a degree to the heinousness of the offense. Every precaution that Christian wisdom and charity can suggest is taken to give an accused person sufficient opportunity to defend himself from a false accusation, even at the cost of allowing many guilty persons to go free. The chief desideratum at present in this province of

* Wines's and Dwight's Report, page 108.

† Ibid., page 109.

‡ Deceased after this paper was in type, May 12, in the ninetieth year of his age.

reform is to secure greater uniformity in the administration of criminal law. A maximum and minimum period of imprisonment, often permitting a very broad interval between the extremes, in order that the Court in its discretion may distinguish between the different shades of criminality involved in the act—as committed by young or old offenders, whether a first offense or otherwise, whether exhibiting malice or not—in practical operation, involves much comparative injustice to prisoners. The different Courts having different standards of judgment as to the measure of punishment to be allotted to given crimes, it happens that in the same prison persons who have been guilty of minor offenses find themselves sentenced for a longer period than those who have committed graver acts of trespass.

The report of Drs. Wines and Dwight mentions this extreme case upon the testimony of an eminent member of the bar of Baltimore. He had known, he said, "a man to be sentenced to the Maryland Penitentiary ten years for stealing a piece of calico not worth more than ten dollars, and another man to be sentenced for only ten years to the same prison who had committed an atrocious murder."* Mr. Haynes, the intelligent Warden of the Massachusetts State Prison, referring to this inequality of sentences and its effect upon prisoners, remarks, "We have one man here who plead guilty to passing three counterfeit five dollar bills, who was sentenced to fifteen years; another, who plead guilty to passing four twenty dollar bills, who was sentenced to but four years. One man, for having in his possession ten counterfeit bank bills, was sentenced to one year; another, for the same offense, to twelve years. These men may work near each other, and, of course, learn the facts; and it can be easily imagined that great dissatisfaction would be engendered, and our discipline suffer in consequence. No logic can convince a man that justice requires him to serve fifteen years here for passing fifteen dollars in bad money, when his neighbor serves but four for passing eighty, everything else being equal."† The most experienced Wardens in the country bear unanimous testimony to the evil influence upon the character of prisoners of this inequality in the terms of the sentences.

In the economy of the prison, and in the profitable applica-

* Report on Prisons and Reformatories, page 270.

† Report, page 271.

tion of the labor of prisoners to the support of the institution, very successful experiments have demonstrated that what has been heretofore a heavy burden upon the community may be made self-supporting, and even capable of returning a considerable revenue. And this, it has been shown, can be secured, not only without calling the inmates to the performance of excessive labor, but with decided advantage to the physical and moral well-being of the prisoners. In 1848 the expenses of the Rhode Island State Prison exceeded the income by over five thousand dollars, and the sanitary and moral condition of the prisoners was miserable in the extreme. Dr. Wayland became President of the Board of Inspectors in 1851; in 1854, under his very efficient management, the income of the prison exceeded its outlay, the health of the prisoners had improved, and the inspectors report that they "spend most of their leisure in reading, their moral character is manifestly elevated, and a large portion of them leave the prison better prepared to become useful members of society than when they entered the prison." *

The State Prison of Connecticut, under the management of that remarkable man, Amos Pillsbury, now Warden of the Albany Penitentiary, and his father—a period of twenty years—realized a clear profit, in round numbers, of one hundred thousand dollars.† In his present position as Warden of the Albany County Penitentiary, Mr. Pillsbury, while he has secured without great severity of discipline the most unexampled order and a high moral tone among his prisoners, has, by their labor, greatly enlarged and improved the penitentiary buildings, and paid all the incidental expenses of the establishment. In 1866 the earnings of the prisoners exceeded the expenses of the prison by the large sum of \$24,412 49. In no public prison in the country can there be found a milder discipline, or more attention paid to the physical wants of prisoners, than in the Massachusetts State Prison at Charlestown. Its earnings, above expenses, during the last year were \$21,000.

While such marked progress has been made in these departments of criminal administration, much less advancement has been made in the more important work of lessening the crim-

* Memoir of Life and Labors of Francis Wayland, D.D., LL.D., vol. ii, p. 341.

† Report of Prisons, page 268.

inal class, and of reforming and saving the criminal himself. The records of our criminal courts exhibit a constant and startling increase of crime; and the criminals are, the majority of them, young persons. They enter, apparently, upon a regular course of training. Commencing with petty larceny, and visiting the Penitentiary upon short sentences, they advance in the audacity of crime to midnight burglaries and acts of violence, varying their life with limited periods of prison discipline, and perhaps dropping into the grave from the scaffold.

A very small proportion, except of those who may be called accidental criminals—well-educated and heretofore respectable persons who, in the pressure of powerful temptation, yield to crime, and after the shame of imprisonment return humbled to a forgiving and welcoming social circle again—re-enter society again as wholesome members, to add to its capital rather than to prey upon its resources.

One cannot rise from the reading of the very instructive and, in many respects, sad volumes of Miss Carpenter, or from the examination of the exhaustive and able reports of Drs. Wines and Dwight upon the prisons of our country and Canada, and particularly upon the jails and penitentiaries of our State, or from the thoughtful observations of the Massachusetts State Board of Charities, without being impressed with the truth that while prisons have been reformed to a great degree, prisoners have not. Lord Stanley well remarked that the "reformation of men can never become a mechanical process." Good, healthy prisons, just laws equally administered, wholesome discipline, honest industry, are all admirable means through which the erring, vicious, enslaved man may be approached; but all these do not, and cannot save him. They are "weak through the flesh." The individual man must be personally solicited, by all wise endeavors, to lay hold of a Divine Hand to raise him from the depths of his wretchedness. No thoughtful person can read these volumes without seeing that the active managers of our penitentiaries do not aim, as a primary object, at the reformation of the prisoner. Moral men are not at the head of many of them; depraved under-officers and employes of contractors are in constant contact with them; the discipline is often unjust; educational and religious instruction is made entirely subordinate to other interests, and the chief aim seems

to be to get as much service out of the man as possible with as little inconvenience as may be to his overseer. To many persons the contents of these works afford no very lively or entertaining reading; but however reluctant we are to investigate these subjects, they are constantly forced upon us by very unpleasant experiences. Our personal safety and comfort are seriously imperiled by these, our vicious and criminal brethren; and Christ, their Saviour and ours, is ever waiting in the cell to pronounce upon us the benediction, "I was in prison and ye visited me." We are not yet prepared to hold, with some, that the prison should be in no sense penal, but purely reformatory; that all *punishment* should be left to God. The idea of punishment for crime need not be lost sight of in the most vigorous efforts for the recovery of the criminal. The prison may continue to be as dreaded on account of its proper shame, its separation from social life, its very simple food, its hard work; and at the same time the community may be defended, by the restoration of the prisoner, from further sufferings at his hands, his family from the utter loss of his protection, and himself from ruin. Society holds the criminal at wonderful advantage to secure this end, if all available opportunities are employed. Says James Freeman Clarke, in his late sermon before the Massachusetts Legislature:

You have complete control over them. No parents, no teachers have such an entire influence as you have. The moment a man goes into one of your prisons you can decide just what influences he shall be under, and what not. You can shut out what you will, and let in what you will. Now, the old plan of a prison was to shut out all good influences and to let in all bad ones. The present plan of shutting out all kinds of influence, good and bad, is better; but the best plan is to shut out bad influences and let in good ones.

We fall into a grievous error in permitting the first crimes of street children to go unpunished. These little vagrant thieves should be gathered out of the highways and placed in wholesome schools of reform, or be deported into the country. If these perennial springs of crime could be dried, the rivers of vice would soon be lessened in their volume. It may seem to be an advanced doctrine for the present hour; but it is only anticipating a near future to suggest that sentences for crime, instead of being limited by a definite period in the case of often offenders and confirmed criminals, must be, under proper super-

vision, made to depend upon the probable reformation of the prisoner. We place insane persons under restraint for their own benefit, and for the defense of their friends and the community; why should we not restrain those whose reason and will have been undermined or depraved by insane appetites and vicious habits, and who will certainly prey upon the community if permitted to be at large, until we are satisfied that they have come to themselves and can be safely trusted as wholesome members of society? Many thoughtful men in Europe and America have, as the result of their investigations and reflections upon this subject, reached the conclusion "that time sentences are wrong in principle, that they should be abandoned, and that reformation sentences should be substituted in their place." Among others, Mr. Commissioner Matthew Davenport Hill, one of the ablest criminal judges of Great Britain, and for thirty years Recorder of Birmingham, thus enlarges upon this topic in a charge before a grand jury of that city:

You must be prepared to strengthen the hands of government by advocating such a change in the law as will enable those who administer the criminal justice of the country to retain in custody all such as are convicted of crime until they have, by reliable tests, demonstrated that they have the will and the power to gain an honest livelihood at large. You must be content that they shall be retained until habits of industry are formed; until moderate skill in some useful occupation is acquired; until the great lesson of self-control is mastered; in short, until the convict ceases to be a criminal, resolves to fulfill his duties both to God and to man, and has surmounted all obstacles against carrying such resolutions into successful action. But as no training, however enlightened and vigilant, will produce its intended effects on every individual subjected to its discipline, what are we to do with the incurable? Gentlemen, we must face this question; we must not flinch from answering that we propose to detain them in prison until they are released by death. You keep the maniac in a prison which you call an asylum, under similar conditions; you guard against his escape until he is taken from you, either because he is restored to sanity or has departed to another world. If, gentlemen, innocent misfortune may and must be so treated, why not thus deal with incorrigible depravity?*

Upon this charge, only a short extract of which is quoted above, a general discussion naturally enough arose in England.

* Report on Prisons, page 275.

The London "Times" concludes in this manner its judgment of the merit of the argument :

We believe it will be found the cheapest and most politic course, as well as the most humane, to leave no stone unturned to bring about the reformation of the criminals, and not to discharge them upon society until they are reformed. In desperate cases we must even acquiesce in the conclusion of imprisonment for life.*

How may our prisons be rendered more reformatory? We are never to forget, as Edward Livingston wrote forty years ago, that, after all,

Convicts are men. The most depraved and degraded are men; their minds are moved by the same springs that give activity to those of others; they avoid pain with the same care, and pursue pleasure with the same avidity that actuate their fellow-mortals. It is the false direction only of these great motives that produces the criminal actions which they prompt. To turn them into a course that will promote the true happiness of the individual by making him cease to injure that of society should be the great object of penal jurisprudence.

Several interesting local and national experiments have been tried to secure this great end. In the immense ill-arranged public prison in the old city of Valencia, in Spain, Colonel Montesinos undertook the government of the convicts, and won for himself a European reputation by his success. Recorder Hill makes the following statement in reference to his plan and success :

He acted upon the prisoners by urging them to self-reformation. He excited them to industry by allowing them a small portion of their earnings for their own immediate expenditure, under due regulations to prevent abuse. He enabled them to raise their position, stage after stage, by their perseverance in good conduct. When they had acquired his confidence, he intrusted them with commissions which carried them beyond the walls of their prison, relying upon his moral influence which he had acquired over them to prevent their desertion; and finally he discharged them before the expiration of their sentences, when he had satisfied himself that they desired to do well, had acquired habits of patient labor, so much of skill in some useful occupation as would insure employment, the inestimable faculty of self-denial, the power of saying No to the tempter; and, in short, such a general control over the infirmities of their minds and hearts as should enable them to deserve and maintain the liberty which they had earned.†

* Report on Prisons, page 276.

† Special Reports on Prisons, page 47.

The result of this remarkable experiment in a prison containing an average of one thousand prisoners, where heretofore the annual recommitments had amounted to thirty-five per cent., was that they were diminished to two per cent., and during three successive years there were *no* recommittals. Another interesting and suggestive experiment in the direction of reforming the most abandoned prisoners was partially worked out by Captain Alexander Machonochie, an intelligent and benevolent Scotch sea-captain, at the English penal colony upon Norfolk Island, near Van Dieman's Land. The striking details of his four years' labors, from 1840 to 1844, are given in Miss Carpenter's valuable volumes entitled "*Our Convicts.*" When he reached the island he found fourteen hundred of the hardest and vilest convicts, the refuse of the other penal colonies—dangerous and almost demoniacal. He says of them, it was "the most formidable sight I ever beheld when the sea of faces upturned to me when I first addressed them." They had been subjected to the most rigorous, and even brutal discipline; their feelings had been habitually outraged, and their self-respect destroyed. Without the hearty support of his subordinate officers, by moral and intellectual measures almost wholly, he sought by every means to restore to these fallen men their lost self-respect, to awaken hope and wholesome ambition, and to win them to a life of honest industry and virtue. By a system of marks representing higher and lower grades of character and standing, he caused them to feel that, criminals as they were, in a state of utter poverty, destitution, and bondage to appetite, nothing could save them but "their own steady, persevering, unflinching exertion, with God's blessing." They were made to look upon themselves as at the bottom of a well, but "with a ladder provided by which they might ascend if they would, without bolstering or dragging up by other than their own efforts." The result was such as might be expected. A disinterested witness, the author of "*Recollections of Sixteen Years in Australia,*" testifies:

Captain Machonochie did more for the reformation of these unhappy wretches than the most sanguine practical mind could beforehand have ventured even to hope." He says himself, with very natural enthusiasm, "I found the island a turbulent, brutal hell; I left it a peaceful, well-ordered community. The most complete

security, alike of person and property, prevailed. Officers, women, and children traversed the island everywhere without fear; and huts, gardens, stock-yards, and growing crops, many of them—as of fruit—most tempting, were scattered in every corner without molestation.

But an experiment upon a larger scale has been going on for the last twelve or fourteen years, in the administration of the Irish prisons, which has been attended with the most gratifying results. It was inaugurated under the administration of Sir Walter Crofton, who, in 1854, was appointed Chairman of the Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland. The great subordinating idea of the system is the thorough reformation of the prisoner, and his return again, as a safe member, to society. There are four stages in the process. He is first received into a prison in Dublin, arranged upon the Pennsylvania or separate system. Here, for eight months if his conduct is good, longer if he resists the discipline, (that at the opening of his penitentiary career he may be impressed with the truth that the way of the transgressor is hard,) he passes his time in separate confinement. His food is of the simplest character, his discipline severe, his labor, oakum-picking, shoe-making or tailoring, is carried on by himself. He is here carefully instructed as to the nature of the discipline to which he is to be submitted, and shown how his condition will be constantly improved, and the time of his imprisonment shortened, by his own good conduct and diligence. An hour every day is devoted to school, and instruction is afforded by oral lectures. Through all the course, prisoners have divine worship twice a day and upon the Sabbath, Chaplains of three different persuasions being provided, Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic. At the end of this period, if he has done well, he is removed to another prison, upon Spike Island, in Cork Harbor, conducted on the Auburn or congregate plan. Here he is associated in labor and life with others, and exposed to such temptations as will be likely to reveal the actual moral condition of the man. Here, also, his food is improved, and his social privileges are increased. His detention in this prison depends upon the grade he secures, growing out of his submission to discipline, his progress in school, and his industry at his work. Idlers and dangerous men are kept in distinct

classes, separate from the other prisoners, subjected to a low diet, and otherwise punished. Here, also, great attention is paid to intellectual and moral instruction.

Such of the prisoners as reach the high grade of character and progress required (said to be about seventy-five per cent. of the whole number) are removed to one of the Intermediate Prisons, at Smithfield, Dublin, or Lusk; reference being had to the form of labor to which they are adapted, whether mechanics or farmers. Lusk is simply an open common, where the convicts are encamped without any other surveillance than overseers of their work. Here they are employed, working as free from restraint as any day laborers, reclaiming waste lands. They have already transformed worthless bogs and barrens into fine farms and beautiful gardens—happy emblems of the nobler recovery which has been going on in themselves. At the other Intermediate Prisons they go freely out with their overseers to their various mechanical labors. Should they yield to temptation, back again they go to prison walls and severe discipline. In the second and third stages gratuities of money are allowed, determined by their grade, which is paid to them at their discharge from prison. In the latter stage, a portion of this they are permitted to expend upon their own comfort. In the last stage valuable practical lectures upon life and business, upon morals, and many branches of science, are given after work in the evening, and the intellectual life of the men is developed by discussions. A man of singular facility in this work, full of zeal and benevolence, Mr. Organ, has providentially offered himself to this service, and acquired an almost unbounded influence over the prisoners.

In the fourth stage, having merited discharge by good conduct before the limit of the sentence has been reached, the prisoner is dismissed upon a "ticket of leave," to be forfeited upon the commission of an offense. Having been engaged in working freely in the city or in the country, and thus demonstrated his reformation under the eyes of observers, Mr. Organ, who is the agent in this most important province of the work of reformation, has now little difficulty in securing remunerative labor for the discharged men; and he also states, that *not more than five per cent.* of those discharged from the Inter-

mediate Prisons have relapsed! This is certainly a most remarkable result. A few modifications of this system adapt it to the discipline and redemption of criminal and fallen women.

It is not necessary to copy all the details of this elaborate series of penal institutions to secure the same results in this country. Our system requires only to be revised (and this revision must be radical) so far as to subordinate every thing to the one grand idea of reforming the criminal man. Its management must be entirely withdrawn from political interference. At this moment one of the most serious obstacles to moral progress in the New York prisons is the constant liability to change in the inspection and superintendence of these penal establishments. Our venerable and respected chaplain, Luckey, for eighteen years the religious teacher and pastor at Sing Sing, says under oath, referring to the great moral improvements instituted by one Warden and thrust disdainfully aside in a short time by his successor:

A great change was made by him (the former). New officers were appointed, and with them came an entirely new order of things. Mr. S. required of his assistants a humane, forbearing, and just intercourse with the convict; and, as a consequence, he exercised over the latter, both while in prison and after their discharge, a corresponding moral control. Some of the old officers were amazed at Mr. S.'s commencement; others stood aghast as they saw him enter the hospital and take part in the religious exercises. Where will this end? was a question in many a mouth, as he went from cell to cell on the Sabbath, delivering tracts, exhorting the convicts to duty, and especially when he commenced a Sabbath-school, taking charge of it himself, and employing the better class of convicts for teachers when he could get no others. But the prison records show conclusively that all this was done without detriment to the good order of the prison or the safe keeping of the convicts; nay, to the decided advantage of both these interests. The punishments were not only less severe, but less frequent; very few attempts at escape were made; work was more cheerfully performed, and more of it done; and numerous instances of moral and religious reforms took place, as was conclusively shown by the continued good conduct of the convicts after their liberation. Some who had predicted revolt and rebellion on the part of the convicts as the consequence of this humane treatment of them, on witnessing the results just stated, and the complete falsification of their own prophecies, candidly and with emphasis declared, "Mr. S. is right."

Now what a terrible misfortune to the State, and above all to these unhappy men, that such a man, in the very hour of his success, should be removed! Few men have this magnetic reformatory power. It is given of God. Wardens are "born, not made." Our beloved chaplain sadly continues,

By a turn in the political wheel a new Board of Inspectors came into power imbued with different views. Mr. S. was removed, and Mr. L. was brought back and invested with the administration of discipline; and, at one fell swoop the Sunday-school, the distribution of tracts, the prison correspondence, the library, the visitation of friends, and all those moral appliances for which I had labored so earnestly, were swept away. Brute force was again enthroned, the reign of terror was renewed, the "knock down and carry out" system was reinstated in full vigor. The effect of this change was, that punishments increased, escapes multiplied, the temper of the prisoners was soured, and the discipline became greatly demoralized. The Inspectors at length became convinced that they were on the wrong track, and after about seven months' trial of the system of severity, Mr. L. was relieved.

But how fatal this interregnum in moral training upon the character of the prisoners; it was difficult, the chaplain testifies, even under a better man, to recover the pure and healthy and vigorous tone of discipline which had been reached by Mr. S.

The same regard to moral qualifications and permanency must be had in reference to all the subordinate officers, and to the overseers of labor. The end sought after is not simply regimental precision, and the largest amount of work (for which the man himself receives no pecuniary recompense) which may be forced from him, but it is the convict's redemption, and every thing should be made a means to secure this. The testimony in reference to the effect of the contract system, especially as it operates in this State, by which the labor of prisoners is sold for a given sum to contractors, as gathered by Drs. Wines and Dwight, is appalling. We do not refer now so much to the constant frauds upon the State practiced by these contractors, but to the fatal influence of the system upon the moral character of the prisoners. These men have but one interest, and that is personal. They select such overseers as have the most success in wringing the greatest amount of service out of the convict. Remaining permanently connected

with the prison, while the Inspectors, Wardens, and officers are changed, they acquire an astonishing power over the administration of the establishment. Says Rev. Mr. Luckey, by means of the political influence which they can bring to bear upon Inspectors, they induce them

Not unfrequently to appoint cruel and unprincipled keepers, whom the contractors can use as tools in furtherance of their own interests, often to the detriment of the health, and oftener still, of the morals, of the convicts. They often interfere in the discipline, directly, by dictating as to the punishment of the convicts in their shops. I have often seen contractors accompany prisoners to, and return with them from, the punishment room. On one occasion, I saw a man bucked in a very cruel manner; and when, as his neck would be wrenched, and under the agony thus inflicted, he would plead for mercy, a contractor's agent standing by, and fairly gritting his teeth, would say to the officer who was administering the punishment, "Give it to him, the villain! he is not subdued yet."

Can a more effectual plan be devised to make hardened wretches out of these outcasts from society, and to engender within their souls the most brutal tempers?

But let us listen still further to the Chaplain:

They (the contractors) oppose every thing of the nature of moral or reforming agencies, which would consume any part of the time of the convicts that might be employed to their own pecuniary advantage. Some years ago, as a means of softening the feelings and improving the hearts of the convicts, I got up a prison choir, composed of the prisoners. The hour from four to five every Saturday afternoon in summer, and from three to four in winter, was devoted to practice in my presence. At length the contractor, in whose shop the leader of the choir worked, forbade him to attend the rehearsal, unless a deduction of one fourth should be made from his wages on that day for this loss of a single hour.

A prayer-meeting occupying a single hour was objected to for the same reason; and when a burial service was proposed for the dead, the convicts to assemble in the chapel, and the Inspectors at once assented to it as tending to make a powerful moral impression, the reponse of the contractors to the written request of the Chaplain was, that it would interfere with the per diem rates of the employed convicts. If these selfish and economical ends are to be considered primary, fare-

well to any well-devised plans for the moral and religious training of prisoners. Within reasonable limits, the Chaplain, who should be a man specially designated by Providence for the position, should have free access to the prisoners, and the largest opportunity for religious instruction and public services.

It is surprising that so little effort in our country, noted for its system of public education, is made to secure the intellectual cultivation of prisoners. The examination of our prisons discloses the painful truth that but very slight attention is paid to this matter. In many instances the only instruction is that given by the Chaplains through the barred doors of the cells. In others it is confined to the Sunday-school, and in a few instances a teacher is hired for one hour in the day to give lessons to the convicts. Nearly all convicts when they enter prison are wretchedly ignorant. In no prison, except one in Canada, even Massachusetts not excepted, does there seem to be any efficient system in operation to secure the mental development of those who, of all others, need this training, the lack of which has been one of the prominent occasions of a life of crime.

But the prisoner must have something before him. He must see that his life of discipline, if he is faithful and in earnest himself, will result in reinstating him in the confidence of the community. By connecting his discharge with his reformation—by allowing him, when discharged, a portion of his earnings—by awakening his manhood with suitable solicitations of his better feelings—by proffering him adequate aid and supervision when he leaves the walls of his prison—by the direct and divine appeals of the Gospel—the fallen, abject, hard, corrupt, but still human soul must be aroused. We have no right to despair of any living man. Certainly the efforts that have been put forth for the reformation of prisoners have never been so exhaustive in their character, or so wisely devised and so efficiently executed as to enable us to predicate safely success or failure upon them. This we do know, that when the cross does enter the cell it is the “power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth.”

Dr. Tuckerman relates an instance that came under his notice in 1827. He happened to be present in the United

- States Court-house when two pirates received the sentence of death. The wretches manifested an almost inconceivable hardness of manner. One expressed all the rage of a demon, and the other the strongest possible contempt.

Judge Story asked them if they had any thing to say before sentence was pronounced. The first one poured out a torrent of the most profane and revengeful language upon the District Attorney and the Court. The other, with a sardonic grin, replied only, "The sooner the better."

Judge Story said he had witnessed many affecting scenes in the discharge of his judicial duties, but never one so painful as this. Dr. Tuckerman followed them after sentence to the jail, and persuaded the reluctant turnkey to permit him to enter the cell, and to lock him in with one of them for an hour.

The doctor says :

I offered my hand to the prisoner, which, I think, he did not take. I assured him of my great desire to serve him. His reply was, "I only wish to be in hell, where it is hot, and not in this cold place." The hour passed, and the turnkey returned. Not the smallest apparent moral progress had been made in that hour, except that the unhappy man had consented to my request to pass an hour of the next day with him. He said, "You may come if you choose, I care nothing about it." I went the next day, and the next, and the next, and endeavored by every means in my power to get at his heart, and to make some impression there. I closed each visit with prayer. It was now quite perceptible that a change of feelings had begun in him. He had a father and mother living, and I addressed myself in every way to his filial sensibilities. There seemed to be no other chord in his heart from which a moral vibration was to be obtained. I think it was on the fifth or sixth day of my visits to him that he said "Amen" at the conclusion of my prayer. He was now desirous and glad to see me. The remembrance of his parents was the great restorative of his sensibilities. On about the tenth or twelfth day of my visits, he fell upon his knees when we prayed together. He had now a deep sense of his guilt, and the character of his penitence was most peculiarly filial. God was revealed to him as his Father, and his heart was penetrated and bowed as if the heart of a greatly-guilty but sincerely-repenting child. Every thought and care and interest was absorbed in the single desire for mercy, the forgiveness of his heavenly Father. I passed an hour with this man every day during, I think, thirty-four or thirty-five days, and never have I heard such supplications, such entreaties for mercy, as I heard from his lips. In the midst of one of my prayers he broke out into such impassioned and importunate cries to God that it seemed to me as

if the very stones of his cell might have responded to them. My own heart was well-nigh broken by his anguish. And he died, apparently, the most contrite being I have ever known.

We have selected this incident to show that the hardest heart may be touched by the grace of the Gospel, rather than one of the many highly-ornamented descriptions of the triumphant religious exercises of dying criminals that garnish our public prints. A wholesome distrust and disrelish is felt by thoughtful persons of these sudden and rapturous dying experiences after a life of hardened criminality. Dr. Tuckerman prudently and truthfully portrays the legitimate and divine result of a clear apprehension of guilt and of the love of God, in the hearty and humble penitence of the sinner. Surely Christ came "to seek and to save that which was lost." The last earthly act of the Saviour was to open Paradise to a penitent robber, and he was the first person to feel the power of his cross.

How eloquently, fifteen hundred years ago, did the golden-tongued Chrysostom discourse upon this :

Would you learn another most illustrious achievement of the Cross, transcending all human thought? The closed gates of Paradise he has opened to-day; for to-day he has brought into it *the thief*. Two most sublime achievements these! He hath opened Paradise and brought in the thief. . . . Though no king could permit a *thief* or any of his servants to occupy the same seat with him, and to ride into the city, yet our gracious Lord did it. For at his entrance into his holy fatherland he brings along with him the thief; not dishonoring Paradise with the feet of the thief—far be it from him—but rather in this way conferring on it honor. For it is the glory of Paradise to have such a Lord, so full of power and love, as to be able to make a *thief* worthy of the joys of Paradise. For when he called publicans and harlots into the kingdom, he did this not to dishonor the kingdom, but to confer on it the highest renown, and to show that the Lord of the kingdom is such as to be able to bestow on harlots and publicans an excellence so perfect, that they are seen to be worthy of the honors and gifts that are there. As, therefore, we admire a physician when we see those who are laboring under incurable diseases released from their maladies and restored to perfect health, so, beloved, admire Christ, and be astonished that, laying his hand on those that are afflicted with incurable maladies of the soul, he hath power to deliver them from the evils under which they groan, and make those who have reached the utmost extremity of wickedness fit for the kingdom of heaven.

ART. V.—MOTLEY'S UNITED NETHERLANDS.

History of the United Netherlands, from the Death of William the Silent to the Twelve Years' Truce, 1609. By JOHN LATHROP MOTLEY, D. C. L. In four volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868.

WITH the two volumes of this work which have recently appeared Mr. Motley completes his second great historical study. The "History of the United Netherlands," which we are thus enabled to view as a whole, is well deserving of a position by the side of the "Rise of the Dutch Republic," of which it serves as the continuation. In fact, the two works are only parts of one extended plan, reaching from the first struggles of the Low Countries in defense of their municipal liberties against the world-wide despotism of Philip II., to the formal recognition of the independence of the United Provinces by the treaty of Westphalia in 1648. The concluding portion of this period, the sanguinary Thirty Years' War, is a noble theme, which even the gifted pen of Schiller has not rendered so familiar as to strip it of freshness and interest. We are glad to see the announcement that it is already occupying Mr. Motley's attention as a subject for future treatment.

To the unobserving, and those who judge of the forces of history by merely mechanical tests, it may seem that our author has begun and prosecuted the examination of a mere episode in the world's story on a scale quite out of proportion to its relative importance. The provinces that succeeded in asserting and maintaining their freedom, it may be said, were but an insignificant patch of sand wrested from the ocean—a territory not equal in area to one fourth of the state of New York. Their population at the present moment even scarcely exceeds the number of deaths on the surface of our globe in a single month. What stupendous dimensions would be reached by a complete chronicle of our race were it compiled according to this standard! If four volumes of no mean size are required to elucidate the events of this little commonwealth during twenty-four years of its existence, (1585–1609,) what scholar, to say nothing of the man of business, who can at best devote only a small portion of his time to pursuits of this nature, could ever hope to master the history of his race?

To this possible, and indeed very natural, objection it may be replied that the domain of history is not one vast extended plain, of which no single part excels another in interest and importance; but a country of infinite variety and striking contrasts, with favored spots scattered here and there over its surface, from which the eye can reach far and wide, taking in the general features of the vast intervening spaces. The battlefield of civilization is not a mere collection of single combats, all of equal moment; but in the midst of the confusion and strife there can be detected points of decisive interest, where the fate of thousands hangs upon the personal valor and sagacity of a few combatants. So momentous are the consequences dependent upon these dynamic centers, so vast the issues that flow from success or defeat, that minutes, or even seconds, of time *there*, are worth more than entire hours or days elsewhere. We had rather know how Achilles fights than learn the monotonous details of the thousand nameless contests that go on around him; for it is the hero's blows, not those of the ignoble crowd, that decide the fortunes of the day.

It is in this view of the matter that Mr. Motley deserves well of the reading public for treating his subject with such minuteness of detail. The Netherlands, at the period which he has under consideration, were the most prominent champions of European, or rather of universal, liberty. It requires no uncommon clearness of vision to detect in those little mercantile and manufacturing communities all the essential elements of grandeur. If the world has ever permitted itself to attach the epithet "great" to not a few of those wonderful men, living in general rather for the injury than for the good of their race, who have exhibited indomitable energy in the accomplishment of their favorite designs, how can the designation be denied to an entire people that adopted and inflexibly maintained its devotion to the noble aim of securing its civil and religious rights?

Ignored as the fact might be by contemporaries, the Netherlands presented the spectacle of a noble people engaged in a heroic work. It is true that kings and nobles despised this same people as unworthy of all respect, because plebeian in its origin. The idea of a modern republic, in spite of the prolonged political existence of the cantons of the Swiss Alps, was

something so diametrically opposed to all preconceived notions of dignity, that it would have been difficult to invest even a larger state than the loosely-associated commonwealths of the Lower Rhine with much of that halo that seemed to attach to the persons of anointed kings. It was still harder for the worshipers of royalty to look upon the Netherlands with respect in the years which followed the death of William of Orange than it had previously been. There was no longer any great central personage of undoubted authority to attract to himself the undivided gaze of the world. William the Silent, the foremost citizen of the republic, a prince by undisputed title, the direct representative of a family which had swayed the imperial scepter of Germany when the ancestors of Philip II. himself were simple Archdukes,* was a figure that could not fail to arrest the attention, and claim the admiration of contemporaries. But the times were changed. Mr. Motley says :

Heroes in those days, in any country, there were few. William the Silent was dead, De la Noue was dead, Duplessis Mornay was living ; but his influence over his royal master was rapidly diminishing. Cecil, Hatton, Essex, Howard, Raleigh, James Croft, Valentine Dale, John Norris, Roger Williams, the " virgin queen " herself—does one of these chief agents in public affairs, or do all of them together, furnish a thousandth part of that heroic whole which the England of the sixteenth century presents to every imagination ? Maurice of Nassau—excellent soldier and engineer as he had already proved himself—had certainly not developed much of the heroic element, although thus far he was walking straightforward like a man in the path of duty, with the pithy and substantial Lewis William ever at his side. Olden Barneveld, tough burgher statesman, hard-headed, indomitable man of granite, was doing more work, and doing it more thoroughly, than any living politician ; but he was certainly not of the mythological brotherhood who inhabit the serene regions of space beyond the moon. He was not the son of god or goddess, destined, after removal from this sphere, to shine with planetary luster among other constellations upon the scenes of mortal action. Those of us who are willing to rise, or to descend, (if the phrase seem wiser,) to the idea of a self-governing people, must content ourselves for this epoch with the fancy of a hero-people and a people-king.

A plain little republic, thrusting itself uninvited into the great political family party of heaven-anointed sovereigns and long-descended nobles, seemed a somewhat repulsive phenomenon. It became odious and dangerous when, by the blows it could deal in battle, the logic it could chop in council, it indicated a remote

* Rise of the Dutch Republic, iii, 494.

future for the world, in which right divine and regal paraphernalia might cease to be as effective stage properties as they had always been considered.

Yet it will be difficult for us to find the heroic individualized very perceptibly at this period, look where we may. Already there seemed ground for questioning the comfortable fiction that the accidentally dominant families and castes were by nature wiser, better, braver than that much-contemned entity, the people. What if the fearful heresy should gain ground that the people was at least as wise, honest, and brave as its masters? What if it should become a recognized fact that the great individuals and castes, whose wealth and station furnished them with ample time and means for perfecting themselves in the science of government, were rather devoting their leisure to the systematic filling of their own pockets than to the hiving up of knowledge for the good of their fellow-creatures? What if the whole theory of hereditary superiority should suddenly exhale? What if it were found out that we were all fellow-worms together, and that those which had crawled highest were not necessarily the least slimy?*

It is less extraordinary, however, that the monarchs of Western Europe should have affected to despise, or should really have despised, the pretensions of the burghers of Amsterdam and its fellow-cities to the dignity of an independent state, than that they should have been so blind to the value of the Batavian states as to have no desire to incorporate them in their own domains. Yet that they were altogether unable to estimate the worth of the prize that was placed within their reach is evident. Neither Elizabeth of England nor the Valois of France could comprehend that the sovereignty of the provinces was capable of being made any thing more of than a screen to hide their ulterior designs. In the "Dutch Republic" we were introduced to the machinations of Alençon, Catharine de Medici's youngest son, and to that treachery whereby a "French Fury" was added to the scarcely more infamous "Spanish Fury" of Antwerp. In the first volume of the "United Netherlands" the states appear again in the attitude of suppliants, and are seen, not once, but twice, not offering merely, but thrusting upon neighboring monarchs the dignity which Philip of Spain, by his flagrant breaches of faith and violation of their ancestral privileges, had forfeited. First it was to the effeminate Henry III. of France that the shrewd statesmen of Holland addressed themselves, that noble

* History of the United Netherlands, iii, 187.

specimen of a man who painted his face like a woman's, and who, at the solemn reception of the Dutch ambassadors, when after ignominious delays they were allowed to enter the regal presence, was seen with "his long locks duly perfumed and curled, his sword at his side, *and a little basket full of puppies suspended from his neck by a broad ribbon.*"* The Low Countries might at least seem to be entitled to a respectful hearing, for the offer of a new jewel to be added to the crown of the most Christian King was not made every day, and could scarcely be construed even by the most arrogant into a favor done to the giver. France must have been the gainer by the addition of the industrious communities on the shores of the North Sea. It is, therefore, less remarkable that Henry of Valois, surrounded by his "minions," plunged in unmanly vices, and engrossed with trifles, should have despised the gift, than that the prize should have been allowed to escape the hands of the astute Medicean Queen, who for a quarter of a century had been the real power in France. The occurrence is, however, only another exemplification of the world-wide difference between sagacity and low cunning. The queen-mother Catharine had not an eye to see in the juncture any thing better than a fine opportunity to secure private advantages from Philip. The fact which, as Mr. Motley has shown, explains the enigmatical course of events, was that she possessed claims upon the crown of Portugal, at that time united to the Spanish monarchy, and that by entertaining for a time friendly intercourse with the deputies of the Netherlands she hoped to exact from Philip a round sum by way of compensation for their relinquishment. Thus while the Dutch envoys, offering to Henry the sovereignty, "with hardly any limitation as to terms," were waiting six weeks at the doors of the Louvre before they could gain admission, Henry III. and Catharine, closeted with the Spanish ambassador, were haggling about the terms on which their own acceptance of the sovereignty could be bought off.

The persevering Hollanders were not discouraged by this rebuff. Nothing daunted, they turned to Elizabeth of England, and entreated her to assume the vacant chair of State. Their advances in this direction, however, if less ignominiously re-

* *United Netherlands*, i, 96.

jected, were not less resolutely declined. Mr. Motley has related very minutely the hesitations and delays with which the English Queen afforded her scanty assistance, and the severity with which she rebuked even her favorite, the Earl of Leicester, when he allowed himself to receive a title and rank in the United Provinces, which seemed to imply the acceptance of the authority which his mistress had refused. But the States of the Netherlands, repulsed on all sides, at length began to appreciate the value of the gift which they could get no one to take. It began to be suspected that, after all, a monarch, dignified and imposing as his figure might be, was not absolutely indispensable for the maintenance of order, for the administration of justice, or even for carrying on a vigorous war, whether offensive or defensive. Accordingly, the new volumes of this history exhibit the tables turned. It is no longer the burghers of Holland that now supplicate the anointed kings, whether "Most Christian," or "Defenders of the Faith," to take pity on their acephalous condition. They stand erect instead of crouching. It is the turn of royal ambassadors to watch with caution, to spin long threads of intrigue, and hope for the return of golden opportunities; but such opportunities, according to the proverb, never return. Much as he might deplore the infatuation of his predecessor, Henry IV. could never retrieve his mistake, or ensnare the Netherlands into making a second offer of what had once been so contemptuously declined. Elizabeth and James I. were equally unsuccessful. Holland might prove a most essential auxiliary to France and England in curbing the extravagant pretensions of Spain to universal monarchy. It was not to be made a provincial dependence of either, and it was better that it should be so. Added to England, it would have secured to that island an exclusive control of the sea and of the newly-discovered countries beyond the ocean; a control which might have proved but little less injurious to the interests of civilization than that which strong arms had for a generation been toiling to wrest from the navies of Spain. Added to France, the dream of later generations would have been anticipated, and with the mouths, and perhaps the whole of the left bank of the Rhine in its possession, the Court of Paris would have given the law to Western Europe.

It was, however, wisely ordered that neither of these contingencies should occur. In the year 1590, where Mr. Motley's new volumes resume the story, neither Elizabeth nor even the Bearnese, who, under the name of Henry IV., had a few months since succeeded to the throne from which the Pope, the Spaniard, and the League had done their best to exclude him, were thought of as available candidates for Dutch sovereignty. The plastic materials which the slightest external pressure seemed at one time sufficient to fashion into any shape, had now begun to assume that state in which to attempt to mold would only be to break. These volumes, therefore, are consecrated to the history of the consolidation of what had previously been fluctuating and unsettled. Yet even the military events of the period are in no wise inferior in importance to those of the preceding years. It is true that few single scenes surpass in dramatic effect the two which Mr. Motley has described in so vivid and masterly a manner in the earlier portion of his work—the siege of Antwerp, and the cruise of the Invincible Armada. But the student of the art of war will find matter for contemplation similar in character, and scarcely less instructive, in the campaigns of Maurice of Nassau, and the siege of Ostend by Ambrose Spinola.

Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, was still alive; but his triumphant career was well-nigh run. What a brilliant record might he not have left behind him had those resplendent abilities been employed in defense of a righteous cause! What a terrible work might he not have accomplished had the bad King whom he served with such slavish devotion been of a mental caliber sufficiently great to take in his magnificent designs! Fortunately for the world—or rather, according to the good providence of God, we should prefer to say—Philip, for whom this new Hercules seemed fated to perform his superhuman toils, was a laborious imbecile, thwarting by his unprofitable industry the sagacious counsels of his gifted advisers and ministers. Blessed above most monarchs of any age in possessing skillful instruments for accomplishing great objects, he contained in himself all the elements which his worst enemies could have desired for neutralizing their most powerful endeavors in his behalf. Nowhere in his life does this idiosyncrasy stand forth more prominently than in the

last years of his reign. Humanly speaking, what might not a Farnese have achieved in the way of effecting the subjugation of the United Provinces had he been properly supported by his master, promptly furnished with soldiers and with the means for paying them, and thus permitted to perform his work without the harassing interruptions occasioned by mutinies of an organized type, and of whole months' duration! Instead of this, we find him hampered by ill-advised instructions, expected to perform impossibilities with a handful of troops, half-clad and ill-fed, whose spirits were weighed down by present necessity, and their enthusiasm crushed by long arrears of pay. Still worse, he was not allowed to devote himself to his work in the Netherlands; but when the patriots had just been striking a blow for freedom by surprising the castle of Breda, and it was of the utmost importance to stem the turning tide of their fortunes, he was summoned by Philip's express commands to transfer his army to French soil, and to do battle for the "League" against the victorious arms of the rightful monarch of the land.

It is not too much to say that none of Parma's campaigns displayed more genius than those in which he was brought face to face with Henry IV. The latter, though still young, was already a veteran in service of arms. He had been the nominal head of the Huguenot party for twenty-one years, and many of those years he had spent in the saddle. Yet never was captain more signally out-generaled than he was, first at the siege of Paris, and afterward on the banks of the Lower Seine. These were, however, the last exhibitions of Parma's skill. He was dying of that reward which all Philip's great and successful agents were sure in the end to reap—the ingratitude of their employer. Happily for him he did not long survive his invidious victories. Had it been otherwise history might have another dark page to write down by the side of that on which are recorded the murder of Philip's own son, Don Carlos, and so many other deeds of scarcely less revolting turpitude. Had it been otherwise he might not have been spared the knowledge of the depth of meanness in that monarch's heart, and which his own private letters, brought before eyes for which they were never intended, reveal to the light of day. The Spanish king had actually

drawn up, in such detail as his contracted mind alone could do, instructions for the recall and forcible arrest, if need be, of a man who had worn himself prematurely out in his cause, and whose only misfortune; through a long career of success, it had been that he had rendered his master services too great to be forgiven. Once in Spain, whether coming of his own free will or in chains, what exit was probable for him but by secret poison!

The life of a tyrant is an ungrateful theme. We have often almost wondered how that genial writer and most patient historian, the late Mr. Prescott, could bring himself to the task of treating this eventful period from a point of view which compelled him to stand in the immediate vicinity of the throne, and have the occupant, almost of necessity, for the central object of his picture. And yet the world owes him a debt of gratitude who paints in their true colors the characteristic vices of one whom the accident of birth has invested with irresponsible powers; irresponsible, we mean, so far as any earthly tribunal in his own life-time is concerned. It is not the wreck which he makes of every thing around him that constitutes the sole or perhaps the most instructive warning he affords to posterity; it is also the wreck that he himself becomes. For a single man to be born and live the supreme arbiter of the destinies of millions of his fellow-creatures is certainly sufficiently pernicious to the interests of those subjects, and of the world at large; but as such a monarch is neither omnipresent nor omniscient, he must see and act after all through others' eyes and hands, so that his reign often becomes practically only another form of oligarchy, and at least a few of the evils of a single rule are avoided. It is not so, however, with the ills which tyranny inflicts upon itself. Those the tyrant can scarcely escape. To come into being in so elevated a position that all the ordinary restraints which hem in man's sinful propensities are wanting—to receive from hour to hour the homage due rather to a god than to a man—to be surrounded by a host of flatterers, ever ready to applaud each selfish and corrupt action—to come to regard the gratification of his passions as a praiseworthy exercise of right, and to end life with the fearful delusion, in full possession of intellect and conscience alike, that in poisoning his enemies by the score, and burning

them, burying them alive, or hanging them by the tens of thousands, he had committed no unkind or uncharitable deed, but, on the contrary, one that would meet with the approval of High Heaven—this is, indeed, a fearful doom in itself. Well might the pagan Plato make his master declare such immunity from restraint as the tyrant possesses the direst of personal misfortunes.

After a reign of far more than the average duration, and eventful above that of any of his predecessors, Philip II. was to die. The current remark, as old as the first persecutions of the Church, that there is often seen a special mark of the divine displeasure in the frightful deaths of those who have lifted up their cruel hands against the lives of God's faithful servants, certainly has a confirmation in the end of this monarch, so like to Herod in his complacent reception of the popular applause, so similar to him in his final agonies.

Here is Mr. Motley's account of his illness :

Meantime Philip II., who had been of delicate constitution all his life, and who had of late years been a confirmed valetudinarian, had been rapidly failing ever since the transfer of the Netherlands in May. Longing to be once more in his favorite retirement of the Escorial, he undertook the journey toward the beginning of June, and was carried thither from Madrid in a litter borne by servants, accomplishing the journey of seven leagues in six days.

When he reached the palace cloister he was unable to stand. The gout, his life-long companion, had of late so tortured him in the hands and feet that the mere touch of a linen sheet was painful to him. By the middle of July a low fever had attacked him which rapidly reduced his strength. Moreover, a new and terrible symptom of the entire disintegration of his physical constitution had presented itself. Imposthumes, from which he had suffered in the breast, and at the joints, had been opened after the usual ripening applications, and the result was not the hoped relief, but swarms of vermin, innumerable in quantities, and impossible to extirpate, which were thus generated and reproduced in the monarch's blood and flesh.

The details of the fearful disorder may have attraction for the pathologist, but have no especial interest for the general reader. Let it suffice that no torture ever invented by Torquemada or Peter Titelman to serve the vengeance of Philip and his ancestors, or the Pope against the heretics of Italy or Flanders, could exceed in acuteness the agonies which the Most Catholic King was now called on to endure. And not one of the long line of martyrs, who by decree of Charles or Philip had been strangled, beheaded,

burned; or buried alive, ever faced a death of lingering torments with more perfect fortitude, or was sustained by more ecstatic visions of heavenly mercy, than was now the case with the great monarch of Spain.

That the grave-worms should do their office before soul and body were parted was a torment such as the imagination of Dante might have invented for the lowest depths of his "*Inferno*." *

It would be absurd to doubt that the man was sincere in his belief that he was on the straight road to heaven, and that his life had been a fair preparation for the enjoyment of its bliss. To suppose that he was falsifying the convictions of his soul in regarding himself and representing himself to others as a martyr of the faith would argue an entire misapprehension of Philip's mental constitution, or at least of the second nature which habit and education had created within him. It was no more possible for him to be in uncertainty respecting the excellence of any course of action which he had adopted, especially if cloaked with the pretext of religious zeal, than to suspect the reality of the sun that shone above him. The canker of self-adoration had eaten into the very texture of his soul. Such men are seldom undeceived in this world, even with the immediate prospect of death before them. Certainly Philip was not undeceived.

His first thought was to request the Papal nuncio, Gaetano, to dispatch a special courier to Rome to request the Pope's benediction. This was done, and it was destined that the blessing of his holiness should arrive in time. He next prepared himself to make a general confession, which lasted three days, Father Diego having drawn up at his request a full and searching interrogatory. The confession may have been made the more simple, however, by the statement which he made to the priest, and subsequently repeated to the Infante, his son, *that in all his life he had never consciously done wrong to any one*. If he had ever committed an act of injustice it was unwittingly, or because he had been deceived in the circumstances. This internal conviction of general righteousness was of great advantage to him in the midst of his terrible sufferings, and accounted in a great degree for the gentleness, thoughtfulness for others, and perfect benignity which, according to the unanimous testimony of many witnesses, characterized his conduct during this whole sickness. †

Yet this is the same mortal of whom the historian writes most truly below :

* *United Netherlands*, iii, 503, 504.

† *Ibid.*, iii, 505.

Falsehood was the great basis of the King's character; which, perhaps, derives its chief importance, as a political and psychological study, from this very fact. It has been shown throughout the whole course of this history, by the evidence of his most secret correspondence, that he was false most of all to those to whom he gave what he called his heart. Granvelle, Alva, Don John, Alexander Farnese, all those, in short, who were deepest in his confidence, experienced in succession his entire perfidy; while each, in turn, was sacrificed to his master's sleepless suspicion. The Pope himself was often as much the dupe of the Catholic monarch's faithlessness as the vilest heretic had ever been.*

By what standard shall a crowned culprit of this description be judged? This is a question of vast importance, for it affects not only the whole system of historical criticism, but the structure of universal ethics itself. If each man is a law to himself, in the sense that his individual notions of right and wrong constitute the sole criterion of moral action, then Philip, the prey of a distorted conscience, will escape free of censure. Assuredly if there was a man in his dominions that believed the religion he professed to be infallibly true, it was he. If there was a disciple of St. Dominic, that held it to be doing God service to hack, and mangle, and exterminate those created in God's image, that happened to differ from him in creed, he did not surpass in the strength of his persuasion the bigoted King of Spain. But where would such a guiding principle land us if not on the dreary shore of utter indifference and uncertainty of moral distinctions? We are gratified to see that Mr. Motley does not propose to allow the hoary persecutor and murderer of Spain the benefit of such a rule, even in mitigation of his flagrant crimes. He says:

A vast responsibility rested upon the head of a monarch placed as Philip II. found himself at this great dividing point in modern history. *To judge him, or any man in such a position, simply from his own point of view, is weak and illogical. History judges the man according to its point of view. It condemns or applauds the point of view itself.* The point of view of a malefactor is not to excuse robbery and murder. Nor is the spirit of the age to be pleaded in defense of the evil-doer at a time when mortals were divided into almost equal troops. The age of Philip II. was also the age of William of Orange and his four brethren, of Sainte Aldegonde, of Olden-Barneveld, of Duplessis-Mornay, La Noue, Coligny, of Luther, Melancthon, and Calvin,

* *United Netherlands*, iii, 540.

Walsingham, Sydney, Raleigh, Queen Elizabeth, of Michael Montaigne, and William Shakspeare. It was not an age of blindness, but of glorious light. If the man whom the Maker of the universe had permitted to be born to such boundless functions chose to put out his eyes that he might grope along his pathway of duty in perpetual darkness, by this deeds he must be judged. The King, perhaps, firmly believed that the heretics of the Netherlands, of France, or of England could escape eternal perdition only by being extirpated from the earth by fire and sword, and therefore, perhaps, felt it his duty to devote his life to their extermination. But he believed still more firmly that his own political authority throughout his dominions, and his road to almost universal empire, lay over the bodies of these heretics. Three centuries have nearly passed since this memorable epoch, and the world knows the fate of the states which accepted the dogma which it was Philip's life-work to enforce, and of those who protested against the system. The Spanish and Italian peninsulas have had a different history from that which records the career of France, Prussia, the Dutch Commonwealth, the British Empire, the Transatlantic Republic.*

We have lingered, perhaps, too long on this historical character, in itself essentially mean, great only in the position it occupies for the world's misfortune during forty-three years of the last half of the sixteenth century. We feel somewhat of relief to see the decrepit old man leave the stage where he has so long played an important part so ignobly. At the same time, we experience a secret gratification to find that, after all, he has done so little of what he undertook to do. He has not made Europe his own. He has not expelled the legitimate King from France, and established himself or his daughter, Clara Isabella, in his stead. He has not dethroned and executed his hated sister-in-law, Elizabeth of England. He has not even reduced to obedience his revolted subjects in the Low Countries. His dreams of a world-empire have vanished into thin air. The sea is no longer his; the Indies he must share with the plebeian merchants whom he has for over thirty years been laboring to coerce. He began his reign with an overflowing treasury; he ends it with revenues so mortgaged to secure payment of his debts that four millions annually are all the income that he has with which to carry on the affairs of state. The brilliant exploits of his generals—the most skillful of his day—have accomplished so little, that whereas his reign

* *United Netherlands*, i, 6, 7.

commenced with the conclusion of a treaty dishonorable to the French, it ended with a second ignominious to the Spaniards. Not less signally has he failed in the attempt to establish the Papal Church throughout the world. Thousands of gallows and stakes have witnessed triumphant deaths of martyrs to the reformed doctrines ; but for one Protestant that has been destroyed ten new professors have sprung into existence. Holland has become thoroughly Protestant. France has just issued an edict of toleration, the celebrated edict of Nantes. England, which was Protestant only because its rulers had adopted the reformed creed, has become Protestant from conviction. The grateful truth most certainly is, that Philip's reign was "a thorough and disgraceful failure." *

With the death of the great cause of the revolt the war of independence of the United Netherlands ought properly to have been concluded. To all who were not as insensible to palpable truths as he was it must have been evident that no hope remained of accomplishing with diminished resources what Philip II., with the united strength of Spain, Portugal, and Naples, and with the annual tribute exacted from the Indies, had been unable to effect. But Spanish pride could not yet be brought to admit the true state of affairs, and for eleven years more the war, that had raged already for the full life of a generation of mankind, dragged its slow length along. The sovereignty of Flanders, and such other parts of the Low Countries as they could secure, had been deeded by Philip to his daughter, the Infanta Clara Isabella, and her husband, the Archduke Albert. Very naturally the Archdukes, as they were familiarly called, desired to recover the provinces whose prosperity stood in such marked contrast with the ruin to which the "obedient" states had been reduced by ministerial mismanagement and the rapacity of the Spanish legions. And so a prolonged opportunity was presented for Maurice to exhibit that rare military capacity, that thorough mastery of a science which he had, by incessant application, almost deserved the credit of having created. Never had the struggle been fiercer and more sanguinary than during these final years. The single siege of Ostend was supposed to have caused the death of not less than one hundred thousand men ; and when,

* *United Netherlands*, iii, 542.

at length, the brave garrison of the Dutch and their allies surrendered it, the assault had lasted three years and seventy-seven days.* It was a barren victory, moreover, for the interior of the place was absolutely destroyed, and a flourishing town became a waste, inhabited only by a single miserable family. Not so fruitless were the advantages gained by the Hollanders and Zeelanders, especially those upon the ocean. The sea had always, in consequence of their peculiar geographical position, been an element familiar to them. But now, enriched by the enormous trade diverted by the loss of the mouth of the Scheldt from its old emporium at Antwerp, and enticed by the taste they had acquired of the sweets of a distant commerce, these intrepid sailors pushed their adventurous fleets to the most distant parts of the globe. Every Dutch skipper became an admiral in face of a hostile fort or vessel-of-war; every puny Dutch merchantman esteemed itself staunch enough to attack the first crowded galley or unwieldy carack that fell in its way. And in these conflicts, in which the numbers of combatants on either side were so disproportionate, the victory with singular uniformity accrued to the natives of Holland. And so by a handful of seamen, often without commissions, always defraying the greater part of their own expenses, the Spaniards were driven away from large tracts of a world they had hitherto considered their exclusive property, and the foundations were laid of a Dutch empire, which even now contains a population four times greater than that of the kingdom of the Netherlands. Nor were these early voyages of discovery and conquest destitute of romantic interest. The explorations of Barendz, of Van der Ryp, and their comrades, in search of a shorter path to the Indies than the tedious voyage around Cape Horn or the Cape of Good Hope, as related by Mr. Motley,† form an episode of interest unsurpassed by that attaching to the Arctic researches of Kane and other daring spirits of our own days. Their dangers and exposures in a land of perpetual winter were even more terrible in consequence of their slender equipment and scanty acquaintance with the configuration and climate of the inhospitable regions they visited. The adventures of these early pioneers of science and commerce have too generally passed into oblivion, while

* *United Netherlands*, iv, 215, 216.

† Especially in chapter xxxvi, vol. iii.

the meager satisfaction has been denied them by modern geographers, which they could justly have claimed. The right of first discovery has been violated, and the characteristic appellations given to cape, bay, and craggy peak have been replaced by later and insipid substitutes.

When at last the time for the long expected peace or truce had arrived, the success of the Dutch in their maritime enterprises could be gauged by the fact that, with the exception of the question of the toleration of Roman Catholic worship in the United Provinces, the greatest difficulty in the way of an accommodation was found in the desire, on the Spanish side, to stipulate for the exclusion of the Dutch from the Indian waters; but neither toleration nor exclusion would the Netherlands concede. Their trade with the whole world, free of restriction by geographical limits, they had discovered to be indispensable to their mercantile prosperity. The repression in their midst of a faith which had been in unbroken alliance with their pitiless persecutors and oppressors they deemed no less vital to their national existence, and so the "Twelve Years' Truce" of 1609 was of necessity made upon this illiberal basis.

The patriots of the Netherlands, like the stern pilgrims of New England, knew not as yet what spirit they were of. Mr. Motley very judiciously observes:

Yet the founders of the two commonwealths, the United States of the seventeenth and of the nineteenth centuries, although many of them fiercely intolerant, through a natural instinct of resistance, not only to the oppressor but to the creed of the oppressor, had been breaking out the way, not to Atheism, as King James believed, but to the only garden in which Christianity can perennially flourish—religious liberty. Those most ardent and zealous pathfinders may be forgiven, in view of the inestimable benefits conferred by them upon humanity, that they did not travel on their own road. It should be sufficient for us, if we make due use of their imperishable work ourselves, and if we never cease rendering thanks to the Omnipotent, that there is at least one great nation on the globe where the words toleration and dissenter have no meaning whatever. For the Dutch fanatics of the Reformed Church at the moment of the truce to attempt to reverse the course of events, and to shut off the mighty movement of the great revolt from its destined expanse, was as hopeless a dream as to drive back the Rhine as it reached the ocean into the narrow channel of the Rheinwald glacier, whence it sprang. The republic

became the refuge for the oppressed of all nations, where Jews and Gentiles, Catholics, Calvinists, and Anabaptists, prayed after their own manner to the same God and Father.*

The enthusiastic devotion to liberty which the passage we have just cited breathes in every part is one of the greatest charms of Mr. Motley's writings. He sits not a cold and unimpassioned narrator of the struggle between despotism and free institutions. If history, like justice, be blind, so as to know no preferences in the adjudication of the right, yet she loves the just cause and abhors the oppressor. And the historian who is true to the instincts of his better nature is impartial only until he has discovered the merits of the case; after that he belongs to that side which counts justice as a fellow-pleader. "The great purpose of the present history," Mr. Motley somewhere writes, "must be found in its illustration of the creative power of civil and religious freedom."† And this is an aim not less noble than it is difficult to maintain. It is not always easy to guard one's allegiance to the sacred cause of liberty. The side of tyranny is frequently that which possesses much that appeals to the fancy and imagination. In its support may be enlisted great martial skill, courage, and audacity, with many of the most admirable traits of the human character. It almost always has the advantage of presenting a hero, or a prominent figure that may answer for one, whether prince or general, possessing the meretricious glitter of pomp and wealth. Freedom, on the contrary, is likely to be the side of the plain and unromantic people, where sympathy for their righteous demands is wont to be neutralized by the offense given by their rudeness and ten thousand peculiarities that repel us. Between courtly hypocrisy and oppression on the one hand, and rustic bluntness and justice on the other, we are apt to espouse the fairer and more deceitful cause. Especially is this the case, if a party, in the main just and consistent, is dishonored by the excesses or rendered contemptible by the foibles of its prominent adherents. "There is even a danger of being entrapped into sympathy with tyranny when the cause of tyranny is maintained by genius, and of being surprised into indifference for

* Motley's *United Netherlands*, iv, 531, 532.

† *Ibid.*, ii, 314.

human liberty when the sacred interests of liberty are endangered by self-interest, perverseness, and folly."*

Entertaining these views, Mr. Motley holds up to general condemnation intolerance and persecution wherever found. They meet with equally severe animadversion, whether exhibited by Roman Catholic or by Protestant. He claims for all *liberty*, not *toleration*, a term in itself insulting because implying the right of another to act as arbiter of his fellow-man's opinions. He seems, indeed, almost disposed to exalt liberty from the indispensable condition for the attainment of the highest and noblest exercise of man's faculties to the ultimate good for which he is to live, as though the atmosphere of freedom once breathed would deliver him from all human ills, and he needed nothing more to insure the soul's perfect health. However this may be, Mr. Motley is at least just and discriminating in his estimate of the relative guilt of the infringements upon the sacred right to which he has occasion to advert. We may instance the important contrast which he draws between the persecution of the Protestants on the continent, and the contemporaneous persecution of Papists under Queen Elizabeth's government. After exposing the intolerant position of that princess, he says:

It would, however, be unjust in the extreme to overlook the enormous difference in the amount of persecution exercised respectively by the Protestant and the Roman Church. It is probable that not many more than two hundred Catholics were executed as such in Elizabeth's reign, and this was ten score too many;† but what was this against eight hundred heretics burned, hanged, and drowned in one Easter week by Alſa; against the eighteen thousand two hundred sent to stake and scaffold, as he boasted, during his administration; against the vast numbers of Protestants, whether they be counted by tens or by hundreds of thousands, who perished by the edicts of Charles V. in the Netherlands, or in the single St. Bartholomew Massacre in France?

* *United Netherlands*, i, 171.

† In a foot-note to this passage Mr. Motley quotes, with approbation, Hallam's remark in his *Constitutional History of England*: "There seems, nevertheless, to be good reason for doubting whether any one who was executed might not have saved his life by explicitly denying the Pope's power to depose the Queen. This certainly furnishes a distinction between the persecution under Elizabeth (which, unjust as it was in its operation, yet, so far as it extended to capital inflictions, had in view the security of the government) and that which the Protestants had sustained in her sister's reign, springing from mere bigotry and vindictive rancor."

Moreover, it should never be forgotten, from undue anxiety for impartiality, that most of the Catholics who were executed in England suffered as conspirators rather than as heretics. No foreign potentate, claiming to be vicegerent of Christ, had denounced Philip as a bastard and usurper, or had, by means of a blasphemous fiction, which then was a terrible reality, severed the bonds of allegiance by which his subjects were held, cut him off from all communion with his fellow-creatures, and promised temporal rewards and a crown of glory in heaven to those who should succeed in depriving him of throne and life; yet this was the position of Elizabeth. It was war to the knife between her and Rome, declared by Rome itself; nor was there any doubt whatever that the seminary priests—seedlings transplanted from foreign nurseries, which were as watered gardens for the growth of treason—were a perpetually organized band of conspirators and assassins, with whom it was hardly an act of excessive barbarity to deal in somewhat summary fashion. Doubtless it would have been a more lofty policy, and a far more intelligent one, to extend toward the Catholics of England, who, as a body, were loyal to their country, an ample toleration; but it could scarcely be expected that Elizabeth Tudor, as imperious and absolute by temperament as her father had ever been, would be capable of embodying that great principle.*

With respect to the manner in which Mr. Motley has executed the laborious work which he set before himself in undertaking to compose an authentic history of the United Netherlands during the period between the death of William of Orange and the first formal admission on the part of Spain that they had won their independence, we need to add but little to what has already been said. As a historical investigator Mr. Motley is beyond all praise. To say that he has made a conscientious use of books, pamphlets, and more fugitive and rarer contemporary printed pieces; that he has mastered the contents of prolix state papers, and endeavored to reconcile the discordant statements of partisan writers; that he has examined with care the invaluable results of the researches of Messrs. Groen van Prinsterer, Gachard, Emile Gachet, and the other prominent savans of Belgium and Holland, as published by themselves or by their respective governments, is to mention only a part of his comprehensive studies. He has spared neither time nor expense in ransacking the manuscript treasures of Holland, Belgium, France, England, and Spain, in quest of the most trust-worthy material for the foundation of

* *United Netherlands*, ii, 209.

his historical fabric. We seem not to be venturing too much in asserting that little is likely to come to light that will modify any of his essential positions. The accumulation of the literary wealth into possession of which Mr. Motley has thus come he has, contrary to the experience of most individuals similarly favored, known how to dispense with excellent judgment. Rarely does he yield to the temptation to give a disproportionate space to that which is new and strange. But as it happens that it is this sort of material which explains or throws a very different light upon many of the most important transactions of the period, the manuscript and inedited is a large element in the work. As in his previous history, Mr. Motley's rare faculty of seizing upon the most prominent and striking events appears to great advantage. Few writers possess a more picturesque and dramatic style, or by combined freshness and brilliancy of coloring are more successful in sustaining the interest of the reader.

Several years must, we presume, elapse before the public can receive even the first installment of the History of the Thirty Years' War—the natural complement, as we have intimated, of the two works already published. While uttering the fervent hope that our distinguished countryman's life and health may be spared to complete this, and, if possible, much more, we must be permitted to express our gratification that to an American should have been reserved the honor of giving to the world by far the most authentic and philosophical delineation of the great struggle which ended in the independence of the northern half of the Netherlands. The hospitable shores of Holland sheltered not a few of the most valued of our early settlers after they had left their native land for conscience' sake. Holland itself was the source of an important element in our ante-revolutionary population. Her free institutions had their influence in shaping ours. Her success in maintaining a republican form of government encouraged our fathers to sketch the bolder plan of a more completely democratic state, in which the municipal and local interests should not be destroyed, while harmonized with each other, and united by firmer bands. The lesson which she learned from the rude rebuffs administered by Charles, and Francis, and Henry of Valois, and Elizabeth Tudor, that a state can exist without a

sovereign prince, she faithfully imparted to our cis-Atlantic Commonwealth. It is only just that we should be foremost in giving due credit to her for the precious instruction.

Nor does our indebtedness to the sturdy Dutch patriots end here. America was not less vitally interested in the issue of the struggle in the Low Countries than was Holland herself. The defeat of Philip's resolute opponents would have involved the exclusion of all Europe, save Spain, from the New World. The Atlantic and the Pacific would have been in effect what they were in theory—Spanish seas. From the Arctic circle to Cape Horn the Spanish flag would have waved supreme. Instead of the industrious Anglo-Saxon, and Hollander, and Huguenot, the labor-hating Spaniard, and Portuguese, and Italian would have found their way to these shores. Instead of the Protestant minister and the Bible, the Jesuit monk and the Holy Inquisition would have found a lodgment here. Not an inch of ground would then have been conceded to liberty of thought, to a pure form of religious worship, to healthy trade. Every thing would have been engrossed by despotism, superstition, and rapacity. It is true that the catastrophe of the New World was not averted by the sole exertions of the inhabitants of Holland and Zeeland, and the other Batavian provinces. Nor can we doubt that had that handful of men, discouraged by the overwhelming odds they were encountering in protesting against the tyranny of the King of the most powerful empire on the face of the globe, altogether held their peace at that time, yet enlargement and deliverance would have arisen to this Western hemisphere from another place, though they themselves would have been destroyed. But the brave defenders of Holland none the less have an undying claim to our gratitude. They did their part in the noble work, and they did it well. They knew that they had come into national existence for such a time as this, and they did not refuse the opportunity which God had given them. An entire nation, consigned by the tender mercies of the Inquisition not merely to slavery but by solemn decree to wholesale extermination as heretics, they could at most but perish; and they wisely and intrepidly resolved to perish, if need be, in the defense of God and country. And by this hazardous venture they not only saved themselves untold misery, but they

actually suffered far less than their more cowardly neighbors and their mighty enemies themselves. And God crowned their labor with success, exhibiting to all future generations of men that the choice of faith and courage is the choice of ultimate success and fair renown.

ART. VI.—THE DECLINE OF ROMANISM.

THAT the Papal Church is the “man of sin” described by St. Paul is beyond all controversy. The Revelator describes it as a “beast, having seven heads and ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns, and upon his heads the name of blasphemy;” and also as “Babylon the great, the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth,” the “woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus.” In prophetic vision she is the “habitation of devils, and the hold of every unclean and hateful bird;” and “in her was found the blood of prophets, and of the saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth.”*

And yet under all these symbols the destruction of the Papacy is distinctly foretold. Christ is to “consume” the “man of sin” with the spirit of his mouth. Of the “beast” it is said, “He that leadeth into captivity shall go into captivity: he that killeth with the sword must be killed with the sword.” Of “Babylon” it is said that “a mighty angel took up a stone like a great millstone, and cast it into the sea, saying, Thus with violence shall that great city Babylon be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all.”†

In the light of such Scriptures it is not more certain that Christianity will finally triumph in all lands than it is that Romanism will be utterly overthrown. The man of sin will be “consumed;” the beast will go to the bottomless pit with the false prophet; and over the downfall of Babylon heaven and earth will in due time be called upon to rejoice. Her destruction is only a question of time. Her doom is pronounced and written, and the vision hasteth and will not tarry.

* Rev. xiii, 1; xvii, 5, 6; xviii, 2, 24. † See 2 Thess. ii, 3-10; Rev. xiii, 10; xviii, 21.

But many anxiously inquire, "*When shall these things be, and what shall be the sign of their coming?*" to whom we may fitly answer, "Ye can discern the face of the sky; but can ye not discern the signs of the times?" Let us look abroad, then, upon the moral heavens, and endeavor to read and understand the tokens of the decay and the approaching doom of "the mother of harlots."

The first question that will naturally occur to thoughtful minds, when the question of the progress or decline of Romanism is raised, will be, What is its *power* and *influence* to-day as compared with the past? Does it burn men and women alive now for heresy, as it burned Huss and Jerome in the fifteenth century, and Ridley, Latimer, John Rogers, and Cranmer in the sixteenth? Does the Pope any longer put his foot upon the necks of kings, or kick off their crowns as they come to kiss his toe? Can he shake thrones and kingdoms by his bulls and excommunications as he could even three centuries ago? No. For some reason all these things are at an end. Though millions have perished at her hands, in ages past, for the faith of Jesus, by rack, and fagot, and dungeon, and sword; and though she still claims it to be her *right* to destroy men's bodies for the good of their souls,* heretics have ceased to burn or bleed for their religion, not only in England and Germany and France, but also in Spain and in Rome. Not even the Inquisition dare put a heretic to death now either in Rome or Madrid. Whether this significant fact, known and read of all, indicates a change of *disposition*, or a loss of power, and a consequent change of policy, we leave the reader to judge.

* Last year Rev. George H. Doane, Pastor of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Newark, N. J., published a lecture on "The Exclusion of Protestant Worship from the City of Rome," in which he not only fully justified that act, but virtually justified the extermination of all heretics wherever Romanism has the power to do so. After describing a "heretic" as "one who chooses his faith, who acts on private judgment in matters of religion, in place of believing what the Church teaches him," he says, "the spark must be extinguished as soon as it is perceived, the leaven must be separated from the mass, the rotten flesh must be cut away." Again: "In the middle ages, when the Catholic traditions still influenced and controlled the minds of men, heresy was looked upon as the greatest of crimes, as treason against God, and the most severe measures employed to repress it, in the hope of saving others, on the same principle that when a conflagration threatens the city houses are blown up to put a stop to the flames," all of which signifies it is right to destroy heretics to prevent the spread of heresy.

And so of the present abject dependency of the Pope upon France and Austria for the privilege of occupying his traditional "chair of St. Peter," at Rome, from month to month.

But leaving general and palpable facts, however significant, let us glance at the aspects of the civilized world with reference to the relative status of Romanism and Protestantism ; and of Romanism to-day as compared with itself three hundred years ago.

THE UNITED STATES.

That Romanism is exhibiting unusual activity and success in the United States no intelligent observer will deny. The evidences are to be seen on every hand.* But it is equally true that great efforts are now being made to exaggerate the growth of Popery in this country, and to make the impression that it is quite as prosperous elsewhere as it is in our own land. Let us look, then, first, at the general religious statistics of the globe, and then at the religious state of several of the Catholic countries of Europe.

GENERAL RELIGIOUS STATISTICS.

The latest, and probably the most reliable authority, gives the religious statistics of the globe as follows :

	Total Pop.	Rom. Cath.	Protestants.	Total Chris.
America.....	72,800,000	42,700,000	27,500,000	70,200,000
Europe.....	287,000,000	146,200,000	67,000,000	280,000,000
Asia.....	798,600,000	4,600,000	700,000	12,900,000
Africa.....	188,000,000	1,100,000	700,000	4,900,000
Australasia and Polynesia	3,800,000	400,000	1,000,000	1,400,000
	1,350,200,000	195,000,000	96,900,000	369,400,000†

Another, and a somewhat earlier authority, gives us the following :

	Roman Catholics.	Protestants.
America.....	38,759,000	27,738,000
Europe.....	138,103,000	65,850,000
Asia.....	7,167,000	428,000
Africa.....	1,113,000	719,000
Australasia and Polynesia	280,000	1,100,000
	185,422,000	95,835,000‡

* * Of these in detail, in a subsequent article.

† American Ecclesiastical Almanac for 1868, by Prof. Alexander J. Schem.

‡ Johnson's New Illustrated Family Atlas for 1867, statistics by F. B. Perkins, Esq.

The difference between these tables is, that the first gives us 1,065,000 more Protestants, and 9,578,000 more Roman Catholics on the globe than the other. And we are inclined to regard this showing as the more accurate, because it is the more recent, and is accompanied by all the details which make up the footings of each quarter of the globe; although the recently-published statistics of Dr. Huhn and Mr. G. F. Kolbe, of Germany, place the aggregates for Europe at 137,800,000 Papists, and 65,400,000 Protestants, which is lower than either of the preceding.

So far as we know Romanists have never claimed more than 200,000,000; and it is probable that 195,000,000 Papists, and 97,000,000 Protestants, is about the relative strength of the two parties at the present time.

Now, when we call to mind the religious condition of the world before the Reformation, namely, the almost universal sway of Popery; and find that in the short space of three and a half centuries the true faith has gathered to its standard half as many as now "worship the beast and his image," we have the first general presage of the final triumph of truth, and the ultimate fall of the Papacy. Ninety-six millions of Protestants in three and a half centuries is twenty-seven and a half millions per century; and if Romanism had grown as rapidly since the opening of the sixth century there would now have been 350,000,000 of Papists on the globe instead of 195,000,000. It is thus seen that, taking the whole history of each, Protestantism has advanced nearly twice as rapidly as Romanism; and that, not by its conquest in Pagan and Mohammedan countries, but mainly by its aggressions in countries once almost wholly Catholic. The growth of Protestantism, therefore, during the last three centuries almost necessarily involves a corresponding decline of Romanism, and augurs well for the final triumph of the faith of Christ.

Let us now pass from these general facts to a survey of some of the Catholic countries of Europe.

CONDITION OF FRANCE.

All things considered, it is probable that France is to-day the strongest Catholic country, and the brightest spot for Romanism, on the globe. It has a population of about thirty-six

millions; Romanism is the State religion, and nominally it is almost wholly Papal. Indeed, but for the intervention of Napoleon III. a few months since, the Pope would ere this have been driven from his dominions. And what are the facts in regard to France? a land where only three centuries ago no faith but the Papal was tolerated, and Protestants were slaughtered by thousands? In the first place, religious toleration is an accomplished fact. At the opening of the American Chapel in Paris ten years ago,* Guizot, who was one of the speakers, thus alluded to this important fact:

I came here without intending to address you, but you will perhaps bear with me while I express the feeling of deep emotion which I experienced on entering this building.

We are assembled here to bear witness to the greatest, to the noblest conquest of mankind—to religious liberty. No doubt we owe thanks to the authorities; but that to which we are chiefly indebted is, that work accomplished by the human mind which for the last three or four centuries has been marching on to the conquest of that inestimable boon—a treasure far more precious than all these that surround us—that conquest we owe first to the Almighty and then to our forefathers.

Religious liberty is now won; but it does not hinder the liberty of unbelief or the liberty of denial. For this reason my emotion was deep on beholding this humble structure standing where it stands, wherein you have invited to join you all who believe in Christ.

In 1857 the evangelical statistics of France were thus given:

Ministers in the Reformed Churches	601
Lutherans	269
Union of the Evangelical Churches	20
Independent, Baptist, and Wesleyan	30
Total	920 †

The same writer says:

In 1802 we had not one single religious or even philanthropical institution among us, except the relief of paupers, with the assist-

* This Protestant Church, planted in the midst of Popery, was built under the auspices of the American and Foreign Christian Union, and mainly with funds contributed by C. C. North, Esq., of New York, and a few other wealthy and liberal merchants. It is now entirely self-sustaining.

† A Summary Account of the Religious State and Progress of Protestantism in France, by Emilien Frossard, Pastor of the Reformed Church at Bagnères-di-Bigorre, late Chaplain to the French Army in the Crimea.

ance of a few thousand francs collected at the church doors through the instrumentality of our deacons. Now do peruse the list of our present religious and charitable institutions.

He then proceeds to enumerate no less than twenty-seven different Protestant benevolent societies of various kinds, and at that time vigorously at work in the bosom of Catholic France itself.

The writer then concludes by saying:

Remember that not one of the above-named Christian enterprises existed even in 1825, at the epoch of our religious revival; and now they all prosper, and are at the same time the sign and the means of a most rejoicing progress. All these were begun in faith and in very humble circumstances; they all have been yearly increasing their receipts and expenditure. . . . To these blessings we may add the remarkable increase of our churches, owing to conquests among the Roman Catholic population through the instrumentality of evangelists, Bible readers, and colporteurs sent by the central society and the evangelical societies of France and Geneva. New congregations, wholly composed of proselytes, have been formed in the departments of Charente-Inférieure, Haute-Vienne, Eure, Yonne, Nord, Aisne, Aude, Saone-et-Loire, Rhone, Var, Tarn-et-Garonne, Lot-et-Garonne, etc. Besides these glorious conquests, the general influence of Protestantism has been felt among thousands of Roman Catholics, who, not sufficiently courageous to openly relinquish their Church, are candid enough to say that our principles and practices are nearer to the religion of the Gospel than their own. . . . If we compare the present state of Protestantism with what it was fifty years ago we shall be struck with the change, and heartily rejoice at it if we truly love the Lord and his elect Zion.

These are rejoicing facts, and, indeed, when we seriously consider them we may well be filled with heartfelt gratitude, and look upon them as the forerunner symptoms of a much more extensive and blessed change.

To this we may add that there are now in France about two millions of Protestants, led on by a thousand faithful pastors, and their numbers are daily increasing. It is estimated that there are fifteen thousand Protestants in Paris alone. Fifty years ago there was not a Protestant religious periodical in all France, now there are over twenty.

But the chief evidences of the decay of the Papal faith in France are seen in the fact that the leading minds of the nation are not Papists, but Protestants, like Guizot and Thiers, or infidels, like Renan. For if Papiets become infidels, as so

many do, it is nevertheless a decline of Romanism. And as to the masses, especially the males, while they affect an outward respect for Popery, they to a large extent regard it with contempt. The tendency is to infidelity; but the fact is equally significant of the decay of the Papal faith and its power in the land. Such being the facts, it is not strange that the French correspondent of the *New York Observer* should say that "the Jesuits and Ultramontane politicians of France speak despairingly of the prospects of their cause, and look upon it as nearly lost for the present in Europe."

While, then, we regard France as the most powerful Papal nation on the globe, and while she still keeps up her outward adhesion to Rome, we have abundant proof that even there the once bloody system of Popery is already well disintegrated by Bible truth and a pure religion, and is actually declining, and has been declining for more than a century.

PROSPECTS IN AUSTRIA.

Austria has a population of about twenty-seven and a half millions, of whom about three and a half millions are Protestants, three millions Greeks, and over a million Jews; and before the recent war between her and Prussia she was the chief reliance of the Pope for aid in times of peril. What is her condition now?

Before the battle of Sadowa *The Monde*, a leading Catholic paper of Paris, said:

If Austria succumbs there will be no state depending upon the Vicar of Jesus Christ. All will have abjured the official character of the Catholic faith. There will be numerically Catholic peoples; the Protestants will dare to call themselves a Protestant nation. England and Russia will make a show of their pretended orthodoxy, and the mass of Catholics in France, Spain, and Germany will let fall the throne of Pius IX.—that visible sign of the Catholicity of the nations. Remaining faithful to that grand cause, Austria testifies to it by her defeats. If she is irremediably vanquished she will have all the honor of the combat. She will close the Catholic cycle of modern peoples. The Church and the world will enter upon new struggles, the struggles full of obscurity, the conditions of which it is impossible to determine.

This opinion was copied and indorsed by the *Boston Pilot*, the ablest Catholic paper in this country; and shows that in

the estimation of both papers the fall of Austria would be the breaking of one of the middle pillars of Popery.

After the defeat at Sadowa Cardinal Cullen, of Dublin, thus mourned over the event :

The spirit of revolution is triumphant in every quarter ; it has destroyed the power of all the Catholic states—every one of those interested in supporting the doctrines of our holy religion. Austria was the last state, and she has been completely ruined and destroyed. They seek the overthrow of the Pope, and plunder even of the very small spot he holds in Italy ; every thing he had got has been taken from him, and the *Emperor of the French* very kindly held the hands of the Pope while his enemies were taking every thing he possessed.*

This shows not only the feeling of the Cardinal toward France, for not doing more for the Pope, but also the light in which he regarded the fall of Austria, as affecting the permanency of Romanism in Europe. It was a chief pillar in the temple of the beast, and it was broken asunder, as in an hour, never to be reinstated. And with its fall the throne of Pius IX. trembled and vibrated to its very foundations.

Since that momentous event Protestantism has received a new impulse in Austria. For twelve years the people had been groaning under the weight of the Concordat, a treaty between the Emperor and the Pope, which provides that "all of the education in Austria be committed to the hands of the priesthood ; that every book published be submitted to their censorship ; that all matters of marriage shall be in the hands of an ecclesiastical court ; that the Churches enjoy immunity from taxation ; and that the revenue of the State shall even be taxed or diminished for the benefit of the Church."

In September last twenty-five bishops, "the pillars of Catholicism in the empire," met at Vienna, and addressed a letter to the Emperor, extolling the Concordat beyond measure, and asking him to secure its perpetuity, whereupon the Emperor told them he was a *constitutional* ruler, and should respect his obligations ; and virtually requested them to cease their intermeddling, and attend to their own business. This rebuke of the priesthood was greeted by the people with wild enthusiasm. A member of the Lower House declared in open session that the Emperor's declaration for religious liberty

* *London Watchman*, August 22, 1866.

caused joy throughout the land, and that henceforth freedom of conscience and religious peace should rule in Austria. He then called upon the members to give three cheers for the Emperor, which they did in the most enthusiastic manner.

The Privy Council of Vienna have declared against the Bishops' address without a dissenting voice. Muhlfeld, one of the Council, said, "The Concordat must be abrogated; this is the watchword throughout all Austria, and of all classes of people. This chain must fall from us, for there is no salvation without it." These words were received with deafening plaudits.

The students of the University of Vienna have taken a bold stand for religious liberty, so bold, indeed, that when Professors Arndt and Pachmann, who had publicly sustained the Concordat, first entered the lecture rooms, they were greeted with storms of hisses; and the students sent a petition to Parliament, and also to the Emperor, in which they said:

We wish and must say to the members of Parliament, the representatives of our people, that the Concordat has been crushing us too. It has been said in the Consistory that science should be confessional, while the best men in the University are cast off by clerical oppression; and those professors who are respected by us, have no more been permitted to teach, simply because they are Protestants. The attempt has constantly been made to still our thirst for knowledge by giving us the milk-and-water thinking of the priests, and to tie us to the sacred places of science by the apron-strings of ultra-Catholicism.

Surely this is strange language to come from the students, and to be addressed to the Emperor of one of the most thoroughly Papal countries on the globe. In this conflict the Protestants have every prospect of success, and of the consequent decline of Romanism in Austria.

Another most significant fact is the recent enactment of what is known as the Civil Marriage Bill.* Popery has seven

* This significant event was consummated on the 23d of March last, only seventeen members voting against it. A dispatch published at the time said: "The city has been spontaneously illuminated by the inhabitants this evening in consequence of the vote of the Upper House on the Civil Marriage Bill. Immense crowds congregated in the streets, and have made enthusiastic demonstrations in front of the residences of some of the ministers, and also in front of the monument of Francis Joseph II. Cardinal Rauscher and his political friends have addressed

sacraments, one of which is marriage; and as no one can administer a sacrament but a Romish priest, no one is married who is not married by a Romish priest. Hence persons professedly married by a Protestant, or by a civil magistrate, are not married at all, but are living in open fornication. Such is the impious claim of Popery even in this country. Accordingly, in countries where Popery bears sway, no person but a Romish priest is allowed to marry at all; and such has been the law in Austria for I know not how long. But within a few months a law has passed both Houses of Parliament, and is now the law of the empire, that marriages solemnized by civil functionaries are as legitimate and binding as if solemnized by a priest. Thus has Austria declared, in the most solemn and authoritative manner, that marriage is not a sacrament, thrusting a wedge of steel into the Papal system, which will tend sooner or later to rive it into fragments.*

The bill regulating the relations of the various creeds in the Austrian empire is but a completion of the measures on the subject of civil marriages and education. It permits parents to determine before marriage the religion in which the children are to be brought up. They can come to an agreement on this head before marriage, or on the birth of each child, or come to no determination at all. An appeal is allowed from the decision of the parents. By clause 4 every child of fourteen can freely select the creed to which he wishes to belong. Change of religion and proselytism cease to be punishable acts. No one is to be forced to pay for a creed to which he does not belong, or to follow the formulas of any worship, whether his own or another's. And all this in intolerant Catholic Austria!

Such is her present hopeful condition. As a Catholic power her glory is departed. She is under the heel of Protestant Prussia, and will long remain there. Mean-

a document to the President of the Upper House of the Reichsrath in which they announce that, in consequence of the vote on the 21st on the Civil Marriage bill, they are no longer able to take part in the discussions of the House." But it is the law of the realm despite the sulky retirement of the Cardinal and his fellow-Papists.

* "The great organ in Austria for liberal principles," says Dr. Hurst, "is the 'New Free Press,' which is one of the most readable papers published in Germany. Its influence is so great already that many priests make it the special object of attack in the pulpits."

while Protestant principles are asserting themselves there with wonderful success; the darkness of ages is passing away, and the day of religious freedom seems nigh at hand. In a word, Romanism is fast losing its power and influence even in Austria.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

Spain, the mother of Inquisition, an intensely Papal country, is less important in this discussion than either France or Austria, because of her limited population—sixteen millions—and because, from her repugnance to all modern ideas, she has no power or influence among the nations. Still under medieval rule, she is simply rotting down, like an old ship of the line dismantled of her artillery, and left to the dissolving influence of time and neglect. The same may be said of Portugal. Thoroughly Papal as she has been for ages, she is of so little consequence that she is scarcely worthy of mention in this discussion. With a population of only about four millions—about equal to that of the State of New York—she may be set down as altogether unimportant, and reckoned with Spain as a small and feeble empire in which Romanism still bears sway as it did in the Middle Ages. Whatever may be said of local revulsions in the former kingdom, we shall claim no decline of the religion of the Inquisition either in Spain or Portugal.

THE PROSPECT IN GERMANY.

Of the German states as a whole we have but imperfect data from which to deduce a reliable conclusion. The relative *strength* of the two parties, according to Huhn and Kolbe, is five million and seven thousand Romanists, and eight million seven hundred and fourteen thousand and six hundred Protestants. But this cannot include the whole of Germany. The *Univers*, a leading Catholic paper of Paris, says: "In all the Catholic cities of Germany the statistical returns make it apparent that the number of Protestants is increasing in a fearful manner." Unless, therefore, the population is increasing fearfully, it follows inevitably that Romanism is declining in Germany.

In Prussia the proportion of Protestants to Catholics is fully two to one, and Romanism is tending downward, as it is in

the Netherlands and in Switzerland. In Belgium, as in Spain, the Papists have every thing their own way, there being but about twenty thousand Protestants in a population of nearly five millions; while there are but about three and a half millions of Papists in all Russia, out of a population of about sixty-seven millions.

DECLINE IN ITALY.

By Italy we mean the dominions of Victor Emanuel, not embracing the Papal states. It has a population of about twenty-five millions, and has been for centuries the very heart and center of the gigantic system. Intolerant of every other form of religion, with Romanism as the State religion, and all laws made and administered in the interests of the priesthood, why should it not have continued in power for ages to come? And yet, how does Popery stand there to-day? The people have borne the galling yoke, and been crushed under priestly burdens, till they can endure them no longer, and have risen up as if with the might of a second Reformation, and have dashed the whole superstructure well-nigh to the dust. Look at a few facts:

In 1855 the government of Sardinia passed a law by which two thousand and ninety-nine monasteries and nunneries were broken up, the property confiscated and sold at public auction, and the proceeds invested as a common-school fund, and a deputation sent to this country to study our common-school system and procure copies of our text-books for translation and publication. Thus four thousand seven hundred and twenty-six priests were ejected from their citadels, and made to unloose their grasp upon an annual income therefrom amounting to \$730,000. It was the execution of this righteous decree of the representatives of the people that first excited the ire of the Pope so furiously against Victor Emanuel.

In June, 1866, the Italian Parliament passed a similar law by one hundred and thirty majority, closing all convents, nunneries, and monasteries, and confiscating them all, with all property belonging thereto, to the use of the government. And it is but a short time since the last of all these establishments was sold out at public vendue by authority of the Italian government.

These are *tremendous facts*. They would be such were they to occur here or in Protestant England; and much more when they occur in once Catholic Italy. But we are not done with citing facts.

Long since the people of Italy passed a law making civil marriage, that is, marriage by a civil magistrate and not by a priest, as lawful as any; and also making the marriage of a priest lawful; and under this law many priests have married, and are marrying, despite all threats and penalties from Rome. An Italian correspondent thus discourses upon this point:

After a hard struggle the Italian civil courts have solemnly affirmed the principle that priests can legally depart from their vows of celibacy. Some months ago the Registrar of Genoa refused to sanction the marriage of a priest, and his refusal was sustained by an inferior court. The case was carried up to the Court of Appeals, which, after mature deliberation, reversed the sentence of the lower court, and declared the validity of the laws that give priests the right to contract civil marriage. This decision is of the utmost importance. It knocks away one of the strongest supports of the Papacy in its own land, and taken in connection with the suppression of convents, and other religious establishments in Italy, may be regarded as marking a distinct era in the history of civil and religious advancement. The people make no opposition to this change in the social condition of their religious teachers, finding that a married priest is far more likely to sympathize with them in all matters than one who belongs to a separate caste.

And why should it not be so, when even the Douay, or Catholic, Bible says,

It behoveth, therefore, a Bishop to be blameless, THE HUSBAND OF ONE WIFE, etc. . . . one that ruleth well his own house, having HIS CHILDREN in subjection with all chastity. But if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the Church of God? 1 Tim. iii, 2.

And so again:

For this cause I left thee in Crete, that thou shouldst set in order the things that are wanting, and shouldst ordain priests in every city, as I also appointed thee: If any be without crime, the HUSBAND OF ONE WIFE, having faithful CHILDREN, etc. Titus i, 15.

Why, then, should not a married man make a better priest than a single one? But I am citing *facts*, and must not

argue. Another writer, referring to the new laws in Italy, says :

A large number of monks and priests in Italy have taken advantage of the new privileges conferred upon them by the law for civil marriages, and have rushed into wedlock with unexpected alacrity. Even the nuns have caught the infection, and the matrimonial mania threatens to complete the abolition of the convents begun by the civil law. Human nature appears to be a good deal stronger than the most rigid of monastic vows.

Thus this great feature of Romanism—"forbidding to marry"—is being legally and practically annulled in the very heart of Popery itself.

We have, then, the most abundant proof that the great mass of the Italian people have broken away from their allegiance to Rome, and have discarded almost every one of the novelties that distinguish Popery from Protestant Christianity.* And were it not for the Emperor of the French, the Italians, under the lead of Garibaldi, would drive the Pope out of his contracted dominions, or at least take from him all civil authority, in less than a month.

A few extracts from letters fresh from Italy will help further to illustrate this point. The first is from Rev. W. G. MOOREHEAD, a missionary of the American and Foreign Christian Union, stationed at Sarzana :

The progress that Italy under an enlightening and free government is making approaches the wonderful. The priest, whose influence was incalculable, whose power was not even second to that of the State, who disposed of the bodies and souls of men at his will, is now totally shorn of his strength, and is trusted only by the most ignorant and superstitious. Time was when all lifted hats to him in the streets ; now even passing with the consecrated

* The Italian Reformers demand the following : 1. Restitution to the laity of the right to elect the parochial clergy, and to administer the temporal affairs of the Church. 2. The election of bishops by the clergy and people, with the reservation of the rights of the crown. 3. The reinvestment, in their ancient diocese and provincial rights, of bishops and metropolitans ; and hence the cessation of their present servile dependence upon Rome, and the abolition of every oath of vassalage to her. 4. The celibacy of the clergy not to be enforced. 5. The circulation of the Holy Scriptures among the clergy and laity to be free. 6. The liturgy to be performed in the national tongue, understood by the people. 7. Confession to be no longer obligatory, but voluntary ; and the communion to be administered in both kinds. If this is not Romanism with Popery left out we should like to know what would be.

wafer, few are found who cross themselves. Time was when the Romish churches were crowded with an ignorant, docile, believing multitude; now they are comparatively empty. The priests and canonicals howl their meaningless, unintelligible liturgies to themselves. A few old women, and as many beggarly old men, constitute their audiences. Ask any one if he believes in the dogmas of infallibility and purgatory, or the power of the priest to absolve from sin, and the reply is, in forty-five cases out of fifty, an emphatic no. In one word, Roman Catholicism, as it was once in Italy, is dead. The Ultramontane party is making every exertion, is *spasmatizing* itself, as Italians say, to hold on to its shifting power, which every day is rapidly slipping away, but is only hastening the irresistible downfall of the Papacy. Rome is doomed.

Of the recent movement upon Rome under Garibaldi, and its arrest by French intervention, Mr. Moorehead thus writes, under date of February 3:

You are familiar, I doubt not, with the chief causes which lately led to the crisis in this "Roman Question," the exciting speeches of Garibaldi against the temporal power, the rush of volunteers from every nook and corner of Italy to the Papal frontiers, the labors of the "Roman Center of Insurrection" to precipitate the final catastrophe in this intricate problem, and the end of it all, the armed intervention on the part of the Emperor of France. Never have I seen more intense agitation, grander enthusiasm, or greater unanimity of sentiment and action than was displayed in the last forward movement on Rome. Out of the entire population of the kingdom, save the priests, monks, and nuns, and their adepts and servants, there was not a dissenting voice; there was but one mind and one cry: "Rome, the capital and center of Italian unity." That was the cry that rang from the Alps to the Adriatic, from Venice to Syracuse; and notwithstanding the repulse of Mentana—*notwithstanding* the overthrow of a liberal and progressive ministry to give place to a reactionary and clerical one—*notwithstanding* the hopes and aspirations of a united people have been crushed and trampled on by proud imperial feet, their natural capital denied them, their sons slain by the fatal *chassepot*; *notwithstanding* all this and more, that cry is ringing and will ring until the unity and complete independence of the Italian *patria* is secured.

Of the unanimity of the Italians as to the abolition of the temporal power of the Pope, Mr. Moorehead thus writes:

Were the question of the temporal power to be solved by a universal and untrammelled vote in Italy, there is not the least doubt but that twenty-three millions would cast their ballots against, and *perhaps* two millions for it. And twenty millions of Italians would to-morrow vote for the removal of the Pope, with his cardinals and all their crew, to Malta, or Jerusalem, or China. So much as

to the sentiment of the vast majority of the Italians respecting the temporal power of the Pope.

And let none infer, as some have erroneously done, that this hostility is merely to the temporal power, while the Italians still cling to the Papacy. This *was* the case at the beginning of the revolution, but it is not so now. The opposition has struck far deeper than the mere question of temporal rule. Hear Mr. Moorehead still further :

Five years ago there was not one Italian in fifty, perhaps, who ever thought of striking at the Pope's spiritual power; now there are hundreds, ay, I may say, thousands, who recognize the great fact that, after all, the temporal power *in itself* is of no consequence; that it is the *spiritual power* which gives such strength and influence to the Papacy—that it is the spiritual power, reigning in and over the consciences of men and nations, which sustains its life and sway. Hence, many advanced Italians are fighting the Papacy as a *system*.

The people of Italy are being led, gradually and surely, in such a path as shall finally give them not only Rome, but shall deliver them completely from the spiritual *and* temporal thralldom of the Papacy. The agencies and elements now at work in this country will most certainly overturn the ecclesiastical hierarchy of Rome.

All this may God grant, and hasten the auspicious day!

But we have still another witness who is worthy of being heard in regard to the decline of Romanism in Italy. Rev. D. BOLOGNINI, a native pastor of a Free Italian Church at Udine, thus writes :

Now divide our people as follows: $\frac{3}{4} + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{4} = 1$. The first three fourths are Protestants, but denying the name; afraid of Protestantism, and adhering to the Catholic Church which they believe not, and, worse, despise. In their conscience they generally protest against every religion, even against their own.

How did they come to deny every religion? That is a secret you do not know, for you were not made Catholics by holy water, oil, and salt. You were not taught that Catholicism was Christianity.

On such principles every one of the $\frac{3}{4} + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{4}$ of our people, when reasoning, found that Catholicism was a falsehood, then Christianity a falsehood, and finally every religion a falsehood; for such they found to be the only religion which they had been taught to believe true.

The Italians hate Ritualism, even in its mildest forms; for they say "liturgy means priest, and priest means oppression." Hence, Mr. Bolognini proceeds :

Our people have seen too much of an order which was the denial of every light, of every liberty, and even of every life. Foreign missionaries could not understand *that* in the beginning, and there are still some who will not understand it. . . . We fear priests hidden within the forms behind the order. Is it our fault? Let Christians be indulgent and charitable with us; we have been so infamously deceived by priests that were it not for the grace of God our people would slaughter every priest. You would well be convinced of it, if you had to travel through our towns where you would see every-where on the walls of the houses, "*Morte ai preti!*"—"Death to the priests!"

Such is the religious state of Italy to-day. Three fourths of all her people despise Romanism from the depth of their hearts. And revolting from Popery, and knowing no better religion, they naturally drift to infidelity, the legitimate outcome of all spurious Christianity.

Many of the churches are now altogether abandoned, some of which, like one large cathedral in Milan, have been turned over to Protestants, or evangelists as they are called, for occupancy; while others are being sold with the convents by the government. Under date of the fourteenth of January last a resident of Italy says:

A golden opportunity now presents itself to remedy the drawbacks and difficulties hitherto every-where experienced, more or less, as to *buildings* for meetings and schools. Every one who has worked in Italy knows how often, when settled in a locale, notice to quit is given by the Roman Catholic landlord, (who has been worked upon by the priests, or perhaps by a bigoted wife or other relation,) and all the expense and inconvenience which a change occasions must follow.

The law on the sale of Church property offers the means of remedying this state of things, and securing *permanent locali* with, perhaps, even a *less outlay* than that at present spent on *rents*.

Churches, convents, houses, and buildings of all kinds are being rapidly sold under the following very advantageous conditions: A price is fixed as the nominal value of each lot; there is then a public auction, and each lot is knocked down to the highest bidder, who by paying the price in ready money gets a discount of twenty-eight *per cent.*; or, if he prefer it, he can gradually clear off the debt by *yearly* payments during the term of eighteen years, *after paying one tenth of the whole price at once*, which entitles him to *immediate possession*. Are there no wealthy Christians who would thus buy up some suitable buildings to form *permanent* places of evangelical worship and schools? I would be the last person to advocate wasting money on mere ornament, but I perceive plainly that in the event of a *future religious awakening*, it would take a

great stumbling-block out of the way of the *educated and upper classes* if there were suitable and permanent locali into which they would not feel ashamed to be seen entering, as is now too often the case when the service is held in a room which has served, perhaps, as a shop, store, or even a stable.

Even when all idolatrous and useless ornaments have been removed, there would still remain a certain *prestige* attached to a building which had once been a Roman Catholic church, which I am persuaded would be of use in attracting Italians to enter.

Of the character of the native evangelists now laboring to save Italy from becoming a nation of infidels, Mr. Bolognini gives us the following description :

First of all I must tell you, that with few exceptions our leaders or evangelists were made ministers, not in colleges, but by the word of God; and still you may see a man, once a blacksmith, leading a Church of two hundred or three hundred people. You have heard of a carpenter (once) now dreadfully persecuted at Barletta. But these men want their time to study, to pray, to visit families, and they have not time for correspondence; sometimes they have not money to pay postage.

•Every evening, generally, they hold meetings, and you may find more or less people studying the Bibles which they hold in their hands; or the minister preaching the word (what we call evangelizing;) and on such occasions you will always find the hall almost full. Our creed is, The whole Bible, nothing but the Bible. Our liturgy consists of prayers, preaching, exhorting, teaching, by those who have been gifted by God. The Head and Ruler of our Church is God, who gives to each man severally as he will.

Who does not recognize in this a picture not unlike that of an old-time Methodist preacher, with his Bible and hymn book, rough and unschooled perhaps, yet full of faith and of the Holy Ghost, and going from place to place, singing and praying, preaching and shouting, and bringing sinners to God. And there are scores of such already in Italy, and their number is increasing almost daily. One society,* organized in this country, and whose special mission it is to antagonize Romanism, and to plant and sustain evangelical Churches where a corrupt Christianity prevails, has already more than sixty evangelistic laborers in Italy alone; and it is doubtful if there is to-day a more inviting or promising field for evangelical labor on all the

* The American and Foreign Christian Union, Rooms No. 27 Bible House, New York.

earth than is to be found in Italy, the ancient and once impregnable citadel of the Papacy.*

STATES OF THE CHURCH.

In Rome, or in the dominions of the Pope, the state of things is but little, if any, more hopeful for Popery. With his dominions cut down to a mere garden-spot, and only about three and a half millions of subjects all told—about the population of the state of New York—it is not strange that this pretended “king of kings and presidents” should feel that his glory is departing, and the sun of his former splendor is fast going down to rise no more. Even as long ago as August, 1866, one of his cardinals said :

His Holiness is now reduced to a state of wretchedness. All the Catholic states have been crushed by the abettors of revolution and infidelity, and probably he will have to abandon Rome and leave it to the mercy of Italy. Within six months, very probably, this crisis will come on, and the Pope having no other state, does not know where to turn his steps.—*Cardinal Cullen, of Dublin.*

This anticipated exodus was arrested for a time by the intervention of French troops, but this in no respect increases the good-will of his subjects toward the Pontiff himself. On the contrary, while French bayonets may prop the “chair of St. Peter” for a time, and defer its downfall, every French soldier seen in Rome is an abomination to the more intelligent and influential of the inhabitants of “the Holy See.” Only let Napoleon III. conclude to mind his own business for sixty days, and cease to intermeddle with the affairs of Rome and of Italy, and the Romans themselves would drive the Pope out of Rome and send him forth a fugitive and a vagabond in the earth.

It is still true, no doubt, that upon some special occasions, with thousands of foreigners in the city, a great display and show of devotion can be got up in Rome. But this is no real index to the feelings of the masses when left to their normal inclinations. The truth is, that the people of Rome care but little more for Popery than do those of the rest of Italy.

*For an able and timely editorial upon “Italy as a Mission Field,” see the *Christian Advocate* for October 25, 1866. Is it not high time that the Methodist Episcopal Church had her missionaries both in Rome and in Italy?

Rev. N. C. BURT, writing home from Rome, speaks thus of the attendance at the Catholic churches:

As to the ordinary week-day services, even in St. Peter's, they fail to secure the attendance of any but the performers. Vespers have been celebrated twice while I have been present—once with the music of organ and choir. And these only drew aside from sight-seeing, for a moment, two or three French soldiers, and as many other visitors. In one church after another which I have entered at the hour of evening service I would find the staff of priests all by themselves, howling away as if leading the devotions of a thousand people.

It is a rare thing to see any one at the numerous confessionals. In all, I have seen probably six or eight women, never once a man. On the Sabbath, when I saw the Pope at St. Peter's—said to be the anniversary of the dedication of the church, and the services attended with the exhibition of some precious relics—there were only about three hundred persons present, of whom about one hundred were ecclesiastics and guards, one hundred strangers, and one hundred Romans.

To all this we should add that both Russia and the United States have so far ignored the existence of the Papal government as to have no regular minister at Rome, and may never have another. An imperial ukase was issued at St. Petersburg in December, 1866, declaring all the relations of Russia with the Pope of Rome abrogated, and annulling all the special laws of the empire which have heretofore been made in accordance with such relations.

Such, then, is the state of things in Italy, Old and New. Both as a civil and a religious power Romanism is not only dying, but is well-nigh dead already. Even in these ancient seats of her power and glory, it is doubtful if Romanism is stronger to-day, if deprived of all foreign aid, than it is in the New England states of this republic. "The whole head is sick and the whole heart faint;" and if these are smitten with blight and decay, what must ultimately be the fate of the whole body?

As we said at the outset, the doom of the Papacy is written, and the vision hasteth. Long has Babylon sat as a queen, arrayed in purple and scarlet colors, and decked with gold and precious stones. Often has she been drunk with the blood of the saints, and of the martyrs of Jesus. But the day of her calamity is at hand, and already voices begin to be heard in

earth and in heaven, saying, "Rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye holy apostles and prophets, for God hath avenged you on her."

DECLINE IN IRELAND.

For centuries Ireland has been the paradise of Roman Catholics, and one of the chief sources of Papal immigration to this country. Thirty years ago her population was about nine millions, of whom fully four fifths were Romanists. How is it now?

In 1852 a resident Irish Protestant minister thus wrote of the religious situation in Ireland:

The last census taken, that of 1841, returned as the population of Ireland eight million two hundred and fifty thousand three hundred and eighty-two. In 1845 there were nearly two millions of Irish Protestants. In case of civil war, the Protestants of Ireland would be able to keep military possession of the island; * nor do we see that it would be possible for the combined Romanists to subdue or expel them. . . . The missions of the Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, and Independent Churches have been much owned of God in the conversion of Romanists in Ireland. In some instances there are whole congregations formed of converts from Romanism. The distribution of the Scriptures in English and Irish, the circulation of books and tracts, the visits of Scripture readers, and the labors of missionaries, have made a strong impression upon the minds of Irish Papists. It is found to be impossible to prevent Romanists from reading the Scriptures, and hearing the discourses of evangelical ministers. We are not over sanguine when we express our conviction that Popery is now in a critical state in Ireland.†

The population of Ireland from 1831 to 1861 has been as follows:

	Population.	Decrease.
1831	9,000,000‡	.....
1841	8,250,382	749,618
1851	7,462,540	789,842
1861	5,767,543	1,694,997.

Thus it appears that from 1841 to 1861, a period of only twenty years, the population of Ireland decreased to the amount of 3,232,457, or over forty per cent.

* This they were more than able to do in the recent Fenian troubles.

‡ Rev. Robert Gault, superintendent of the Free Church anti-Popish mission, Glasgow.

† This I find stated in round numbers by a European writer, and take it as nearly correct. All the rest are official.

Here is an actual loss of about four millions of Catholics in Ireland alone in less than thirty years, and a relative loss of thirty per cent. as compared with its own comparative status thirty years before.

Over this deplorable state of things Cardinal Cullen, of Dublin, thus pathetically laments :

The people are still flying from the land, and nearly three millions of its population have emigrated ; our towns and villages are decaying, trade and commerce are at a stand, ruin and desolation are spreading on every side. Can such a state of things be amended by human wisdom, or are our rulers able to encounter such difficulties ? The Scripture says : " Do not put your trust in princes, in the children of men, in whom there is no salvation." But, dearly beloved, let us put great confidence in God, and humbly invoke his protection. Let us recommend our country and ourselves to the powerful intercession of the blessed Mother of God, and our hopes will not be frustrated.

But have they not been praying to the " Mother of God " for centuries, much more than to God himself, and yet what good has she done them ? It is not the British government, nor the landlords, nor the soil, nor the climate of Ireland that have oppressed and cursed that gem of the sea ; but her false and corrupt religion has been the bane of her prosperity, and will be till she is forever disenthralled.

An English correspondent, referring to the gloomy forebodings of Cardinal Cullen, says :

According to the Archbishop the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland is passing through a perilous crisis. " Eighteen institutions," he says, " are found in Dublin, with the impious design of destroying the faith and morals of the poor Catholics ; " and " at least five thousand a year succumb to their influence ; " and these eighteen establishments " to all appearance make up but a third or fourth part of the organization formed for the same purpose. "

In such lamentations from an Irish Cardinal every true friend of Christ and a pure religion may well rejoice. Another writer, speaking from the midst of Ireland, says :

Protestantism is making rapid inroads upon the Catholic Church in Ireland. Many priests have left the Church, and others are in an inquiring condition. These encounter so much opposition and actual persecution that a society has been formed for their relief, called the Priests' Protection Society.

Probably the English Wesleyans were never so active or so successful in Ireland as at the present time. They are learning to save Roman Catholics from their irreligion and superstitions in the land of Gideon Ouseley and Adam Clarke. And American Methodism has done well in giving \$100,000 to help found a Wesleyan college in that priest-ridden and unhappy country.

Many of the more intelligent Catholics of Ireland begin to read, in the indications by which they are surrounded, the approaching doom of Romanism throughout the island. An Irish correspondent of the *Christian Advocate* states that while at Boyle he went to visit its beautiful and picturesque Abbey, where he met a very intelligent Papist wrapped in contemplation. A conversation ensued, in which the following interesting things were said :

"Sir," said the stranger, "I am a Roman Catholic, and have always heard that this was in its day a Roman Catholic chapel. Now I am convinced, that if Romanism was the religion of the Bible; if it were in harmony with the mind of God, its temples, in which the true God was worshiped, would not be prostrate in ruins in every part of this land."

And then with uncommon emphasis he added :

"To my mind this ruin and every similar one proclaims the downfall of our Church. Just as this church had its day in which it flourished, and then sunk into decay, thus it will one day be with our Church itself. And just as we are looking at this ruin now, and thinking of former days in which it was in its glory, so future generations of men will survey the ruins of our Church itself, and wonder at its former grandeur."

Such, then, is the present prospect in the land of St. Patrick and St. Bridget, the former stronghold of Romanism in the British Isles. Of the bearing of this state of things upon our own country we may speak when we come to discuss the prospects of Romanism in the United States.

ROMANISM IN ENGLAND.

In 1839 there were in England, Scotland, and Wales five hundred and thirteen Roman Catholic chapels, six hundred and ten priests, ten colleges, seventeen convents, and sixty seminaries.* In 1850 there were six hundred and seventy-four chapels, eight hundred and eighty priests, thirteen

* Blackwood's Magazine for that year.

monasteries, forty-one convents, eleven colleges, and two hundred and fifty schools or seminaries.* We have thus an increase in ten years of one hundred and sixty-one churches, two hundred and seventy priests, one college, thirteen monasteries, twenty-four convents, and one hundred and ninety schools. At that time a Scotch minister, writing upon the subject, said :

The Catholic Institute has raised funds and effected much in favor of Popery by the dissemination of books written avowedly for the purpose of recovering the British mind to Papal opinions.† St. Mary's College, Oscott, has trained up many candidates for holy orders, and through the length and breadth of the land imposing ecclesiastical structures, in many instances outrivaling all the Protestant places of worship, attest at once the presence and prevalence of Popery. . . . It is supposed, and not without good foundation, that lately the strength of Papal proselytism has been expended upon the British Isles. Romanists well know that the United Kingdom is not only the mistress of the ocean, but the leading power of the world. They therefore seek to conquer Britain to Popery, and thus eventually use the dominion of Britain for the purpose of establishing in all lands the dominion of Rome.‡

Such, in his view, was the policy, the first fruits of which were then beginning to appear. And it has been vigorously pressed from that time to this. Romanism has been gaining in England for the last twenty-five years, not only with the masses, but in the higher walks of society. Many of her converts are fellows of colleges, ministers of the Church of England, members of the learned professions, and of elevated rank. But let none suppose that all this increase of Papists in England, or a majority of them, have come by conversion from Protestantism. This is an error into which many at a distance have fallen, and which the Romanists are very willing to perpetuate. The truth is, that England has been colonized by Catholics from Ireland, very much as the United States have been. Upon this point, also, hear Mr. Gault :

There has been a constant flowing from the Popish districts of Ireland into England, Scotland, and Wales. The reapers, who in bands pass over from the Emerald Isle to cut down the harvests of their Protestant neighbors, give a good account of the land over

* Census of the realm for 1850.

† The very policy which has just been vigorously inaugurated in this country.

‡ Rev. Robert Gault, of Glasgow

which they have traveled. The want of employment at home induces multitudes to try their fortunes in the sister country. The Irish are noted for strong attachment to family and friends. Those who have already found comfortable settlements, send for relatives, and invite over their former acquaintances, and thus, more particularly in the mining and manufacturing districts, thousands and tens of thousands of Irish Papists are located. Priests follow, as a matter of course, and in due time chapels more or less costly are erected, and the whole machinery of Romanism is set up.

How exactly like the process now going on in the manufacturing districts of New England, where the employment of Irish girls in the factories is filling the land with an Irish population, and with Catholic priests and churches.

But, to return to England, we concede a rapid growth of Romanism in Great Britain during the last thirty years; but deny that it is as great as Romanists claim, or that it is any thing compared with its decadence in other portions of Europe during the same period. Of a population of twenty-nine millions, only six millions, or about twenty per cent., are Papists. And there are cheering indications that with the falling off of emigration, the growth of Popery in England has already reached its zenith. A recent article on Sunday-schools in Great Britain, by the Bishop of Oxford,* shows from the last census that of all the children of the realm who attend Sunday-schools, the Romanists have only one and a half per cent.; while the Wesleyans have nineteen per cent., the Primitive Methodists nearly six per cent., the Congregationalists eleven, the Baptists nearly seven, and the Church of England over seventy-six. The aggregate may be thus summarily stated:

	Sunday-School Scholars.
Protestant Dissenters.....	1,260,117
Church of England.....	1,092,882
Total Protestant.....	3,352,999
Total Catholic.....	35,453
Difference.....	3,317,546

These figures are from the returns of the Royal Commission in 1861—the last census taken—and are doubtless reliable. If so, they show that Protestantism had almost exclusive

* Good Words for April, 1868, page 258.

control of the religious instruction of the youth of the land seven years ago, though at that time the Catholics were educating five and a half per cent. of the youth of the country in their secular schools.

But conceding that Popery is still advancing in England, and in *statu quo* in Portugal, Spain, Belgium, and even in France, it is nevertheless a fact that cannot be hidden or denied, that, taking Europe as a whole, Romanism is rapidly declining, and especially in her ancient strongholds and former seats of power. "Thus with violence shall that great city Babylon be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all." Rev. xviii, 21.

Of the status of Romanism in the New World—the Dominion of Canada, South America, Mexico, and the United States—we propose to speak in a future number.

ART. VII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

PROTESTANTISM.

GREAT BRITAIN.

THE STATE CHURCH QUESTION IN ENGLAND—MR. GLADSTONE'S BILL FOR THE DISESTABLISHMENT OF THE IRISH CHURCH.—In the struggle now going on in almost every country of Europe for severing the union between Church and State, Mr. Gladstone's bill in the English House of Commons will forever occupy a prominent place. It has long been a generally-admitted fact that the anti-State Church movement was making steady though slow progress; but how much the Established Churches were undermined has rarely been shown more clearly than by the memorable history of Mr. Gladstone's bill. But a few months ago few of the English institutions seemed to be safer from serious assault than the Church Establishment in Ireland. That most of the Dissenters and the Roman Catholics would at any time be ready to support a bill for the disestablishment of this Church was well known; but it was also believed that the Liberal party in Parliament would

not be willing to identify itself with such a bill. The leader of the party, Mr. Gladstone, had always been known as a zealous Churchman, and a champion of the union between Church and State. He had even in former years declared, in unequivocal terms, his opposition to the disestablishment of the Church. It therefore created a general surprise to see Mr. Gladstone place himself, all on a sudden, at the head of the movement for disestablishing the Irish Church, and see him supported by almost every member of the Liberal party. In view of the intense agitation prevailing in Ireland both political parties were agreed that something must be done to conciliate Ireland. The Tories ventured only upon some half-hearted measures—upon Catholic university charters and other concessions which alarmed and irritated the Protestants without conciliating the Roman Catholics. Mr. Gladstone advanced on this offer, and boldly gave up the whole of the Irish Establishment in order to obtain the pacification of Ireland. The resolutions of Mr. Gladstone are as follows:

1. That in the opinion of this House it is necessary that the Established Church in Ireland should cease to exist as an Establishment, due regard being had to all personal interests and to all individual rights of property.

2. That, subject to the foregoing alterations, it is expedient to prevent the creation of new personal interests by the exercise of any public patronage, and to confine the operations of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of Ireland to objects of immediate necessity or involving individual rights, pending the final decision of Parliament.

3. That an humble address be presented to her Majesty, humbly to pray that, with a view to the purposes aforesaid, her Majesty will be graciously pleased to place at the disposal of Parliament her interest in the temporalities of the archbishoprics, bishoprics, and other ecclesiastical dignities and benefices in Ireland, and in the custodies thereof.

The shock experienced by all good Churchmen on first reading Mr. Gladstone's resolutions was deepened when the lame amendment put forth by the Ministry saw the light. The men who were the natural defenders of the Church had hardly a word to say in its defense. They admitted the necessity for a distribution of funds, but they thought that the questions of disestablishment and disendowment ought to be left for the new Parliament. Neither Lord Stanley nor the Premier, Mr. Disraeli, had a good and hearty argument in defense of the Establishment; and the intimation of the latter, that if the Roman Catholics would only accept the position of a sister Establishment by the side of the Protestant Established Church he was ready to grant it, increased the confusion in the Tory camp.

The House of Commons, on the 4th of April, decided, by the unexpectedly large majority of sixty, to take Mr. Gladstone's resolutions into consideration. Seldom, in recent years, had such strict party lines been drawn in the English Parliament on a great public question, only five Conservatives voting with Mr. Gladstone, and seven Liberals against him. On the first of May a vote was taken on the first resolution of Mr. Gladstone, and it was adopted by a majority of sixty-five. The Ministry then gave up their opposition to the following resolutions, which were adopted without a division. The most imposing demonstration of the opponents of Mr. Gladstone's bill took place at London on the 6th of May. The

Archbishop of Canterbury presided, supported by the Archbishops of York, Armagh, and Dublin, nearly twenty bishops, English and Irish, three of the Cabinet dukes, and a large number of Church dignitaries, noblemen, and members of Parliament. The Primate declared that it was the greatest delusion the human mind was capable of conceiving to suppose that the disestablishment of the Irish Church would not "conduce to the injury" of the Church over which he himself presided. Three resolutions were adopted by the meeting. The first, proposed by the Lord Mayor of London, and seconded by the Bishop of Oxford, affirmed the principle of Church and State; the second, proposed by the Bishop of London, and seconded by the Earl of Harrowby, declared that the disestablishment of the Irish Church "would be a serious blow to the reformed faith of the United Kingdom, would materially affect the supremacy of the Crown, and would directly tend to promote the ascendancy of a foreign power within her Majesty's dominions." The Archbishop of York, in supporting it, was particularly demonstrative, and declared his determination to fight the Liberal party in the House of Lords. The third resolution, admitting the possibility that it might be found necessary to carry out certain reforms in the threatened Establishment, was moved by the Dean of Westminster, and seconded by Lord Colchester. The Dean, in his speech, attempted to introduce an element of moderation in their proceedings, but his remarks were received with such disapproval that he was compelled to resume his seat.

Mr. Gladstone being asked in Parliament whether, after what the Archbishops and Bishops had declared at the London meeting, he meant to continue his crusade against the Irish Church, replied that, with all due respect to the eminent persons alluded to, he attached greater weight and authority to the opinion declared by a great majority of the House of Commons. A somewhat warm discussion took place on a resolution moved by Mr. Aytoun to the effect that, on the disestablishment of the Protestant Church, the grant to Maynooth College and the annual vote to the Presbyterians should be discontinued. Several modifications were suggested. Ultimately it was agreed that "it is right and necessary" that the Maynooth grant and the *Regium*

Donum should be discontinued, due regard being had to vested interests.

The Queen's reply to the address in reference to the Irish Church was sent down to the House of Commons on the twelfth. In it her Majesty states that, "relying on the wisdom of her Parliament, she desired that her interest in the temporalities of the United Church of England and Ireland in Ireland might not stand in the way of the consideration of any measure relating thereto that may be entertained in the present session." The sanction of the Crown having thus been obtained, Mr. Gladstone, on the fourteenth of May, brought in his bill to "prevent for a limited time new appointments in the Church of Ireland, and to restrain for the same period in certain respects the proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for Ireland."

The text of the bill is as follows:

Whereas, Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to signify that she has placed at the disposal of Parliament for the purposes of legislating during the present session her interest in the temporalities of the several archbishoprics, bishoprics, and other ecclesiastical dignities and benefices in Ireland, and in the custody thereof; and

Whereas, It is expedient to prevent the creation of new personal interests in Ireland in the Established Church in Ireland through the exercise of any public patronage, and to restrain in certain respects the powers of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for Ireland,

Be it therefore enacted by the Queen's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

1. In case of the vacancy of any archbishopric or bishopric, or of any ecclesiastical dignity or benefice in Ireland in the gift of her Majesty, or to which any archbishop, bishop, or other ecclesiastical corporation as such, or any trustee or trustees acting in a public capacity, are or shall be entitled to present or appoint, it shall not be lawful to appoint any person to succeed to such archbishopric, bishopric, dignity, or benefice; and upon the happening of such vacancy, the management and receipt of the rents and profits, all the lands, tithes, and other emoluments appertaining to such archbishopric, bishopric, dignity, or benefice, shall be transferred to and vested in the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for Ireland, subject to all charges legally affecting the same, and the said Commissioners shall have power to grant renewals and do all other acts which may be necessary

for the due and proper management thereof, and shall cause the sums and the proceeds thereof to be kept distinct from all other funds, to be disposed of in such manner as Parliament shall direct.

2. In case of the vacancy of any archbishopric or bishopric the person designated by the 31st sec. of 3d and 4th William IV., chap. 37, to execute the powers of the said act during such vacancy, shall be the guardian of the spiritualities of such archbishopric or bishopric; and in case of the vacancy of any benefice with cure of souls, all the powers and authorities granted by the 116th sec. of the said act for supplying the spiritual wants of suspended benefices shall apply and be exercised in respect of such vacant benefice by the same persons and in the same manner as therein directed, provided that in regulating the salary of the officiating minister regard shall be had to the nature and extent of the duties to be discharged.

3. It shall not be lawful for the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for Ireland to make any new grant for the building, rebuilding, or enlargement of any church or chapel, or for the building of any glebe house, or the augmentation of any benefice, or the maintenance of any minister, or the purchase of any house, land, or tithe rent-charge.

4. Every person who shall be appointed to any lay office in connection with the Established Church in Ireland after the passing of this act shall hold the said office subject to the pleasure of Parliament.

5. This act shall continue in force until the first day of August, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine.

The bill was at once read the first time, and the second reading was on May 22 carried by a majority of fifty-four.

A few facts in the history of the Established Church of Ireland will aid in the correct understanding of the interesting struggle. The establishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland was altogether an act of force. While the English government appointed Anglican bishops for the ancient sees, a majority of the people always remained connected with the Church of Rome. Penal laws without number, expressly framed to destroy the Church of Rome in Ireland, and in former times rigorously enforced against the members of that communion, proved utterly powerless; and the disproportion of members between the Catholics and the Protestants is as great to-day as ever. In the latter part of the

seventeenth century an estimate was made by Sir W. Petty of the relative strength of Protestants to Roman Catholics in Ireland. Including all classes of Protestants, the result he arrived at was: Roman Catholics, 800,000; Protestants, 300,000. In 1736 it appeared that the population of Ireland consisted of 1,417,000 Roman Catholics and 562,000 Protestants. A century later, in 1834, the first year of any accurate enumeration of the people of Ireland, it was found that those who were represented in the time of Sir William Petty by 800,000 and 300,000, had come to be, respectively, 6,400,000 Catholics and 1,500,000 Protestants. This disproportion was afterward slightly changed in favor of the Protestants, the respective numbers being, in 1861, when the last census was taken—Roman Catholics, 4,500,000, and Protestants 1,300,000. But this apparent increase of the latter is attributable to the great exodus of the Irish to America during the intervening years, as the emigrants were chiefly belonging to the Roman Catholic Church. The relative numbers have not been materially altered since the last-named year. In the debate in the House of Commons in 1865, Mr. Dilwyn estimated the population of Ireland at 5,800,000, of whom not more than 600,000 were of the Protestant faith. The above figures represent the whole Protestant population of Ireland; but when the Presbyterians, the Wesleyan Methodists, and the members of other non-conformist bodies are deducted from the total, and the question narrowed to a comparison of numbers between the Roman Catholics and the members of the Irish Established Church, the disproportion will appear still more striking. From a Parliamentary Return ordered by the House of Commons, on the 6th May, 1863, we find that while in 1861 the number of Roman Catholics in Ireland was somewhat over four millions and a half, the number of members in the Established Church was only 691,872, and that consequently the proportion in that year was a hundred Roman Catholics to a fraction over fifteen members of the Establishment. And this is about the proportion at the present time.

The hierarchy of the Irish Church consists at present of two archbishops—the Archbishop of Armagh and the Archbishop of Dublin—and ten bishops. The beneficed clergy are about 1,400, exclusive of deans, prebendaries, and other

ecclesiastical dignitaries. The number of parishes in Ireland is about 2,400, most of which have their parish churches. Every parish in Ireland is provided with a clergyman, but as the number of clergymen is not equal to the number of parishes, in numerous instances one clergyman has the spiritual care of two or three parishes. In certain parishes where divine service is regularly performed in the places of worship belonging to the Establishment, the congregation is exceedingly small. The incomes of the parochial clergy arise partly from tithe rent charges, together with glebe lands and houses, and partly from a house tax on houses in cities and towns, the proceeds of which is known as "Minister's money." The total annual revenue of the Established Church in Ireland is about £600,000, of which £400,000 is tithe rent-charge. Originally the direct payment of tithes was universally enforced; then a law was enacted providing for composition for tithes; but this plan was attended with so much difficulty in the collection of payments, and gave rise to such serious disturbances of the peace, the enforcement frequently provoking outrage and bloodshed, that thirty years ago an act was passed by the British Parliament abolishing composition for tithes, and substituting in their stead a fixed payment of three fourths of their amount, to be made by the landlords, or others having a perpetual interest in the land. The new arrangement, however, has by no means lessened the odiousness of the tax in the eyes of the Irish people. The landlord pays the rent-charge, but the burden falls upon the tenant in the shape of an increased rental. The pay of the ministers of the Irish Church is extremely unequal, the incomes of the archbishops and bishops being very considerable, while those of the lower clergy is frequently very small.

Of the Protestant Dissenters in Ireland, the Presbyterian body is by far the most numerous and influential. The chief strength of Irish Presbyterianism is in the province of Ulster, where the members of that communion number over 500,000. In the other three provinces of Ireland their numbers are insignificant, being in Leinster about 12,000, in Munster 4,000, and in Connaught not more than 3,000. Next to the Presbyterians in point of numbers come the Wesleyan Methodists, and there are small bodies

of Quakers and Moravians in Dublin and the parts adjacent.

The Roman Catholic bishops of Ireland, at a meeting held in Dublin, officially defined their position with regard to the Irish question by the following declaration:

The archbishops and bishops of Ireland, seeing that the Government and Parliament are preparing to deal by law with the Irish Protestant Church Establishment, deem it their duty to declare—

1. That the Irish Protestant Church Establishment is maintained chiefly, almost exclusively, by property and revenues unjustly alienated from the rightful owner, the Catholic Church of Ireland; that Irish Catholics cannot cease to feel as a gross injustice, and as an abiding insult, the continued, even partial, maintenance of that establishment out of that endowment, or in any other way, at their expense—an establishment to which, as to their fountain-head, are to be traced the waters of bitterness which poison the relations of life in Ireland, and estrange from one another Protestants and Catholics, who ought to be a united people.
2. That, notwithstanding the rightful claim of the Catholic Church in Ireland to have restored to it the property and revenue of which it was unjustly deprived, the Irish Catholic bishops hereby reaffirm the resolutions of the bishops assembled in the years 1833, 1841, and 1843, and, adhering to the letter and spirit of those resolutions, distinctly declare that they will not accept endowment from the State out of the property and revenues now held by the Protestant Establishment, nor any State endowment whatever.”

[These resolutions deprecate a State provision for the Roman Catholic clergy as a measure “fraught with mischief to the independence and purity of the Catholic religion.”]

3. That in thus declaring their determination to keep the Church of Ireland free and independent of State control or interference, the bishops of Ireland are happily in accord with instructions received from the Holy See in the years 1801 and 1805, as well as with the course pursued by Irish bishops of that day in conformity with those instructions.
4. That the bishops are confident that the Catholics of Ireland will receive with joy this repudiation of a State endowment for the Irish Church, and that they will never cease to give, without any legal compulsion, the support which they have hitherto freely and dutifully accorded to their clergy and religious institutions.
5. That, by appropriating the ecclesiastical property of Ireland for the benefit of the poor, the Legislature would realize one of the purposes for which it was originally destined, and to which it was applied in Catholic times.

The same meeting adopted the following resolution on the means of establishing peace and prosperity in Ireland:

While we warn our flocks against the criminal folly of engaging in secret societies or open societies or open insurrection against the Government of the country, we also declare to the Government and the Legislature our profound conviction that peace and prosperity will never be permanently established in Ireland till the Protestant Church is totally disendowed, education in all departments made free, and the fruits of their capital and labor secured to the agricultural classes.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

THE PRESENT EXTENT OF THE CHURCH OF ROME—NUMBER OF MEMBERS—THE POPE, CARDINALS, ARCHBISHOPS, AND BISHOPS.—We have given in the preceding number of the “Methodist Quarterly Review” an account of the present condition of the Protestant and Eastern Churches. In the following lines we give some statistical information on the third great division of Christianity, the Church of Rome. Together the two articles present a survey of the numerical strength of the professors of Christianity, so far as it can be obtained from the latest reports.

The population nominally connected with the Church of Rome in the five great divisions of the world was in June, 1868, as follows:

I. AMERICA.

1. UNDER AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS.	Total Population.	Roman Catholics.
United States of America..	31,429,891	4,500,000
(With the late Russian America).....	70,000	.....
Mexico.....	8,218,080	8,200,000
Central America.....	2,500,000	2,500,000
United States of Colombia.	2,794,473	2,790,000
Venezuela.....	1,265,000	1,260,000
Ecuador.....	1,040,271	1,040,000
Peru.....	2,500,000	2,499,000
Bolivia.....	1,987,252	1,987,000
Chile.....	2,084,945	2,070,000
Brazil.....	11,780,000	10,600,000
Argentine Republic.....	1,465,000	1,160,000
Paraguay.....	1,337,431	1,237,000
Uruguay.....	240,965	237,000
Haiti and St. Domingo....	900,000	880,000
2. UNDER EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS.		
Dominion of Canada (including Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland) (1861).....	3,295,706	1,465,000
Other British Possessions..	1,140,000	150,000
French Possessions (1862)...	306,912	306,000
Spanish “.....	1,032,062	1,032,000
Dutch “.....	85,703	80,000
Swedish “.....	18,000	.....
Danish “.....	48,111	10,000
Total.....	75,841,002	44,373,000

II. EUROPE.

	Total Population.	Roman Catholics.
Portugal.....	4,349,966	4,340,000
Spain.....	16,202,625	16,280,000
France.....	35,067,094	36,000,000
North German Confedera- tion.....	29,248,533	7,875,000
South German States.....	8,524,460	4,935,000
Austria.....	32,573,002	25,058,000
Italy.....	24,350,845	24,000,000
Papal States.....	680,000	680,000
San Marino.....	7,400	7,000
Switzerland.....	2,510,494	1,023,000
Holland.....	3,532,665	1,250,000
Luxemburg.....	208,851	200,000
Belgium.....	4,984,457	4,800,000
Great Britain.....	29,591,000	6,000,000
Denmark.....	1,684,000	1,000
Sweden and Norway.....	5,892,155	5,000
Russia (inclusive of Poland and Finland).....	62,224,832	6,767,000
Turkey.....	15,735,267	640,000
Greece.....	1,348,412	60,000
Total.....	288,001,365	189,921,000

III. ASIA.

	Total Population.	Roman Catholics.
Russian Dominions.....	9,327,968	10,000
Turkish Dominions.....	16,050,000	290,000
Arabia.....	4,000,000	.....
Persia.....	5,000,000	10,000
Afghanistan and Herat....	4,000,000	.....
Beloochistan.....	2,000,000	.....
Turkistan.....	7,870,000	.....
China and Dependencies....	477,500,000	700,000
Japan.....	35,000,000	10,000
India (inclusive of British Dominions in Farther India).....	187,694,323	1,600,000
Ceylon.....	1,919,487	.....
Farther India.....	21,109,000	2,000,000
East India Islands.....	27,164,725	.....
Total.....	798,635,504	4,590,000

IV. AFRICA.

	Roman Catholics.
British Possessions.....	150,000
French.....	133,000
Portuguese.....	438,000
Spanish.....	12,000
Angola, Benguela, Mozambique.....	100,000
Algers.....	185,000
Egypt.....	27,000
Abyssinia.....	30,000
Liberia.....	.....
Morocco and Fez.....	200
Tunis and Tripoli.....	10,000
Madagascar.....	1,000
Total.....	1,087,200

RECAPITULATION.

	Total Population.	Roman Catholics.
America.....	75,841,000	44,273,000
Europe.....	288,001,000	189,921,000
Asia.....	798,635,000	4,590,000
Africa.....	188,000,000	1,087,200
Australasia.....	8,800,000	400,000
Total.....	1,354,277,000	190,271,000

The aggregate Christian population of the globe is estimated at about three

hundred and seventy millions, or about three elevenths of the whole population of the world. The Church of Rome claims about one half of the entire Christian population. In explanation of the above figures it must be said that the hold of this Church upon many millions which nominally are still connected with it is very feeble. In proof of this we only need to point to the hostile attitude which the Parliaments of Italy, Austria, Portugal, Belgium, and other entirely Roman Catholic countries, have assumed with regard to the Pope, the Bishops, and the Church generally. On the other hand, the Church, owing to the vigorous support which is given to it by the French government, is growing with considerable rapidity in the large possessions which France has acquired in Northern Africa and Eastern Asia; as also in China and Japan, in both of which countries France is an indefatigable champion of the interests of Rome. Strong hopes are, in particular, entertained in the Roman Catholic Church for Japan, where the Church of Rome, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, had a very large membership, and where, it is asserted, entire villages have secretly preserved the faith, and now desire formal readmission into the Church.

The present head of the Church, Pope Pius IX., was born at Sinigaglia on May 13, 1792; elected Pope on June 16, 1846. The College of Cardinals, in November, 1867, consisted of fifty-two members, of whom six were Cardinal Bishops, thirty-eight Cardinal Priests, and eight Cardinal Deacons. The Cardinal Bishops and Cardinal Deacons are all natives of Italy. Among the Cardinal Priests there are six Frenchmen, three Spaniards, four Germans, one Croatian, one Belgian, one Portuguese, and one Irishman; altogether nineteen foreigners and nineteen Italians. In the whole College of Cardinals there are thirty-three Italians and nineteen foreigners. Since then nine new members have been created, one of whom is Prince Lucien Bonaparte, a cousin of the French Emperor. The Prince is generally supposed to be a candidate for the Papal chair when it shall become vacated by the death of the present incumbent, and undoubtedly can rely, in that case, on all the influence which the French Emperor can bring to bear upon the College of Cardinals.

According to the *Anuario Pontificio*

for 1867, published in Rome by the Propaganda College, the number of Patriarchates, Archbishoprics, and Bishoprics in the Catholic Church throughout the world amounts to one thousand and ninety-two. This includes all the Prelates of the Oriental Churches that are in communion with Rome, namely, those of the Armenian Catholics, the Maronites, the Greek Catholics, the Syrians, the Bulgarian Greeks, and the Syro-Chaldaic rites. Of the one thousand and ninety-two sees in the Catholic world one hundred and thirty-one were vacant when this list was published, leaving nine hundred and sixty-one Prelates throughout Christendom, of whom four hundred and ninety were present last July in Rome, and signed the address to the Pope. In the United States the Pope, in answer to the petition of the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore, has erected nine new episcopal sees, and four new Apostolic Vicariates, as follows: *New Bishoprics*—Columbus, Ohio; Rochester, New York; Wilmington, Delaware; Scranton, Pennsylvania; Harrisburgh, Pennsylvania; Green Bay, Wisconsin; La Crosse, Wisconsin; St. Joseph, Missouri; and Grass Valley, California. *Vicariates Apostolic*—North Carolina, Idaho, Colorado, and Montana. The Roman Catholic Church in the United States, with these new additions, has now fifty-three dioceses and seven vicariates apostolic. In the British Dominions the Catholic Prelates amount to one hundred and ten, namely, nine Archbishops, sixty-nine Bishops, and thirty-two Vicars Apostolic. Of the nine Archbishops, one has his see in England, four in Ireland, two in Canada, one in the West Indies, (Trinidad,) and one in Australia. The sixty-nine Bishops include twelve in England, twenty-four in Ireland, one at Malta, one at Gibraltar, seventeen in North America, one in the West Indies, (Island of Dominica,) one in the Mauritius, ten in Australia, and two in New Zealand. The thirty-two Vicars Apostolic include four in Scotland, two in North America, two in the West Indies, three in the Cape Colony, one at Sierra Leone, and twenty in the East Indies.

ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS.—As it is difficult to obtain accurate information on the foreign missions of the Roman Catholic Church, we condense, from a theological journal published by the Jes-

uits in Paris, (*Etudes Religieuses, etc.*) the following statement. Among the missionary fields into which the missionaries are sent, we find the United States enumerated by the side of China, Japan, and other Pagan countries.

I. Missions of the Secular Clergy.—Under this head six missionary seminaries are mentioned, namely, the "Seminaries for Foreign Missions," at Paris, Genoa, Milan, All Hallows (Ireland), Brussels, and the "Seminary for African Missions" at Lyons. Statistics are given only of the Seminary of Paris, which entertains two hundred and sixty-four missionaries in East India, Farther India, China, Thibet, Corea, and Japan. We notice in recent English papers that at a meeting held in London it was resolved to establish another Foreign Missionary Seminary at London.

II. Missions of "Religious Congregations."—The following table gives the names of the religious congregations which send out missionaries, the countries in which they work, and the aggregate number of missionaries supported by each:

1. *Lazarists* have missions in Abyssinia, Turkey, Greece, Persia, Tripoli, Egypt, China, United States, Brazil, Argentine Republic, Chili, Peru, Guatemala. Number of missionaries, 340.
2. *Picpus Society* in Polynesia, Chili, Peru; 130.
3. *Oblates of the Immaculate Conception* in British America, United States, Mexico, Natal, Ceylon; 236.
4. *Marists* in United States, Australia, New Zealand, Polynesia; 128.
5. *Congregation of the Holy Spirit and Holy Heart of Mary* in Western Africa, East India, French Guiana, Hayti; 125.
6. *Congregation of the Holy Cross* in United States, British America, East India; 187.
7. *Redemptorists* in United States, St. Thomas; 25.
8. *Mekhitarists* in Turkey; 65.

III. Missions of Monastic Orders.—1. *Franciscans* in Russia, Turkey, China, Egypt, Central Africa, Tripoli, Morocco, United States, Mexico, United States of Colombia, Bolivia, Peru, Chili, Argentine Republic, the Philippine Islands, New Zealand, British America; 1,384.

2. *Dominicans* in Turkey, China, Philippine Islands, and the United States; 322.

3. *Capuchins* in Turkey, India, Eastern and Central Africa, Tunis; 210.

4. *Carmelites* in Turkey, Persia, East India; 50.

5. *Jesuits* in Turkey, Greece, India, China, British America, United States, Mexico, French Guyana, Ecuador, Guatemala, Chili, Brazil, Paraguay, Argen-

tine Republic, Philippine Islands, Australia; 1,672.

Altogether there are 264 missionaries in the first class of missions; 1,236 in the second class; and 3,639 in the third class; giving a total of 5,138 missionaries.

ART. VIII.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

Dr. Schenkel, who appears to be one of the most prolific theological writers of Germany, has published a work on the life and character of Schleiermacher, (*Friedrich Schleiermacher. Ein Lebens und Charakterbild.* Elberfeld, 1868.) Schenkel regards Schleiermacher as one of the greatest men whom Germany has produced since the Reformation of the sixteenth century. The special occasion for the publication of the book is the one hundredth anniversary of the birthday of Schleiermacher, which will occur on November 21, 1868.

Dr. Redepenning has published a German translation of a compendious History of Religion and Philosophy by Professor J. H. Scholten, of Leyden, Holland. (*Geschichte der Religion u. Philosophie.* Elberfeld, 1868.)—The (Dutch) original has already passed through three editions. The author is well known as a prominent leader of the "liberal" school of the (Dutch) Reformed Church.

No less than three dictionaries on the Greek language of the New Testament have recently appeared. One, by Dr. Schirlitz, already appears in its third edition. (*Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testamente.* Giessen, 1868.) A second, by Professor Grimm, of Jena, (*Lexicon Græco-Latinum in libros Novi Testamenti.* Leipzig, 1868,) is based upon the *Clavis Novi Testamenti Philologica*, which appeared in 1841 in two volumes. The third work, by Cremer, (*Bibl. Theol. Real. Wörterbuch.* Gotha, 1866–1868,) is not a complete dictionary of the words contained in the Greek New Testament, but only of those which have significations differing from the classic Greek.

A Roman Catholic writer, Joh. Mayer, has published a "History of the Catechumenate, and of Catechetics during the first six Centuries." (*Gesch. des Katechumenats.* Kempten, 1868.) According to the review of the work in the *Theolog. Literatur-Blatt* it lacks thoroughness and completeness.

A prominent clergyman of the Lutheran Church of Denmark, Ch. H. Kalkar, has published a History of the Roman Catholic Missions, which has also appeared in a German edition. (*Gesch. der Rom.-Kath. Mission.* Erlangen, 1867.)

A special work on the Synods and Bishops of the Greek Church has been published by Zhisman, Professor at the University of Vienna. (*Die Synoden u. die Episcopal-Aemter der Morgeuland Kirche.* Vienna, 1867.)

A new work on the "Sacred Antiquities of the People of Israel," (*Die heil. Alterthümer des Volkes Israel.* Vol. I. Ratisbon, 1868,) has been begun by Dr. G. Scholz, (Röm. Cath.) Professor at the University of Breslau.

The work of Chr. Hoffmann on the History of the Great Apostasy has been completed by the appearance of the third volume, which contains the attempt to establish a new order of society [*Weltordnung*] on the ground of the apostasy from 1800–1866. (*Fortschritt und Rückschritt.* Stuttgart, 1868.)

A new work on the Apocryphal Book of Enoch, its age, and its relation to the Epistle of Judas, in which it is mentioned, has been published by F. Philippi. (*Das Buch Henoch.* Stuttgart, 1868.)

Professor Steinmeyer, of Berlin, has written an apologetic work on the "His-

tory of the Passion of the Saviour," with regard to the latest writings of the critical school. (*Die Leidensgeschichte*. Berlin, 1868.) It is the second of a series of "Apologetic Contributions."

The work of Professor Jacobi, of Halle, against the Irvingites, who are more numerous in Germany than in any other country, has appeared in a second edition. (*Die Lehre der Irvingites*. Berlin, 1868.)

The fourth number of the Biographies of Christian Women, by Pastor Ziethe, (*Frauen Spiegel*. Berlin, 1868,) contains the life of Ann Judson.

A new German translation of the ascetic writings of Cardinal Bellarmin has been begun by Dr. Hense, the first volume containing a new life of Bellarmine. (*Bellarmin's ascetische Schriften*. Mentz, 1868.)

A selection of the best passages from the works of Franz Baader, the greatest among the Christian theosophists of modern times, has been published by Professor Hoffmann, of Wurzburg, who, conjointly with other followers of Baader, (the Catholics Lutterbeck and Schlüter, and the Protestants Hamberger, Osten-Sacker, and Schaden,) published from 1851 to 1860 the complete works of Baader. (Sixteen vols. Leipzig.) The selections in this new work [*Die Weltalter, Lichtstrahlen aus Baaders Werken*. Erlanger, 1868] are arranged according to topics, and divided into the following sections: 1. Self-instruction; 2. Faith and Science; 3. God; 4. Creation of the World; 5. Redemption of the World; 6. Consummation of the World. No better work for a popular understanding of Franz Baader, who undoubtedly was one of the greatest Christian philosophers of modern times, has yet appeared.

FRANCE.

A work of Ernest Fontanès on Lessing and Modern Christianity (*Le Christianisme Moderne*, Paris, 1867) recommends to the French the study of the theological works of Lessing as those best fitted to spread more enlightened views on the essence of Christianity. The author is an enthusiastic admirer of the Rationalistic schools of Germany, from whom he expects a new reform of France.

Athanase Coquerel, fils, one of the chiefs of the "Liberal" Theological

party in France, has published a book on Conscience and Faith, (*La Conscience et La Foi*. Paris, 1867.) Conscience, according to M. Coquerel, contains three elements: the sentiment of personality, the instinct of duty, and the religious sentiment, and is the supreme judge of what man is to accept as religious truth.

The work on the Miracles of Jesus by Godet (*Les Miracles de Jesus Christ*, Neuchatel, 1867) is regarded by the evangelical school of France as the best treatise on this subject in the entire French literature.

A new quarterly periodical, exclusively devoted to a review of important foreign theological literature, has been established at Geneva. (*Theologie et Philosophie*.) The first number contains articles on Dorner's History of Protestant Theology, on Fichte's Universal Theme, on Ritter's Philosophical Paradoxes, on Ecce Homo, on Bacon de Verulam, on Hegelianism in 1867, and a number of notices of new books chiefly German.

A posthumous work of F. Lajard on the Worship and Mysteries of Mithra in the East and West, has been published. It is a companion to an Atlas published in 1847-48. (*Recherches sur le Culte public, etc., de Mithra*. Paris, 1868.)

By order of the Emperor of France a collection of the Treaties of Peace and of Commerce, and several other documents relating to the relations of Christians with the Arabs of Northern Africa during the Middle Ages, has recently been compiled and published, with an historical introduction by L. de Mas Latrie. (*Traité de Paix et de Commerce*. Paris, 1868.)

A work by Madame de Babbery on "Elizabeth Seton" (Paris, 1868,) treats generally of the beginnings of the Church of Rome in the United States.

Count A. de Gasparin, the great champion of Protestant Christianity and of liberal institutions all over the world, has published a new work on "Moral Liberty." (*La Liberté Morale*. Paris, 1868.)

The work of Abbé Guyot, giving a summary of the Acts of General and Particular Councils, has been published in a new edition. (*La Somme des Conciles*. 2 vols. Paris, 1868.)

New documents, not heretofore published, on the History of French Protest-

antism, are contained in a work of J. Frosterus on the Protestant Insurgents under Louis XIV. (*Les Insurgents Protestantism sous Louis XIV.* Paris, 1868.)

Professor Freppel, of Paris, one of the ablest Roman Catholic Theologians of France now living, has added to his works on Irenæus, Justin, and other eminent Church writers of the first centuries, one on Origen. The substance of the work consists of lectures delivered at the Sorbonne during the years 1866 and 1867. (*Origène.* 2 vols. Paris, 1868.)

ITALY.

The Roman Catholic theology of Italy has of late produced but few works of prominent and lasting importance. Among the publications of the years 1867 and 1868 we notice the following:

Prof. Balan, *J Precursori del Razionalismo Moderno*, etc. Vol. I. Parma, 1867. ("The Forerunners of Modern Rationalism until Luther.") This first volume treats of the Manicheans, Albigenses, Cathari, Waldenses, and the "Caesarism," by which term the author, we suppose, designates the theology which supported the Christian princes of the Middle Ages in their struggle against the arrogant claims of the Popes.

Gen. Galenzio, (a priest of the Oratory at Rome.) *Dissertazioni intorno varie controversie di Storia ed Archeologia Ecclesiastica.* Rome, 1868. (Essays on some Controverted Subjects of Ecclesiastical History and Archæology.) The *Literar. Handweiser* (Rom. Cath. paper of Germany) praises the great scholarship of the book. The ten essays of the book defend the following theses: 1. Christ was born in the year 747 after the building of Rome. 2. The correspondence between Christ and King Algar of Edessa is spurious. 3. Election for ecclesiastical offices should not take place by lot. 4. The service of the first seven deacons referred chiefly to the celebration of the Eucharist. 5. The apostles and the apostolical fathers frequently used the terms *episcopus* and *presbyter* in the same sense. 6. The Church has never known

anything of the pretended right of the people at the election of ecclesiastical officers. 7. The *Disciplina Aræani* is of apostolical origin, and has reference to discipline and doctrine. 8. Pope Honorius I. was neither a heretic nor a favorer of heresies. 9 and 10. The Council of Florence continued to be œcumenical even after the departure of the Greeks.

Mar. da Civitanova, (a Capuchin monk,) *Del Primato del Romano Pontifice ne' primi secoli della Chiesa.* Roma, 1866. (The Primacy of the Roman Pontiff in the First Centuries of the Church.)

A posthumous work of Cardinal Soglia on "Canon Law" is published by Sig. Vecchiotti. (*Institutiones Canonice.* Turin. Vol. I. 1867.) It is to be completed in four volumes.

RUSSIA, TURKEY, AND GREECE.

Among the recent theological publications of the Greek Church are the following:

Ἱστορία τοῦ σχίσματος τῆς λατινικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπὸ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου ἑλληνικῆς—History of the Schism between the Western and Eastern Churches. By the Archimandrite Andronicus K. Demetropoulos. Leipzig, 1867.

Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη—Ecclesiastical Library. Containing the works of Greek Theologians now for the first time edited from Manuscripts at Moscow. By the Archimandrite Andr. K. Demetropoulos. Tomus I. (Cont. Zachariæ Mitylenis, Nicetæ Stethati, Joan. Phurnæ, Eustratii Metropolitæ Nicæni, Nic. Methonæ, Nicephori Blemmidæ et Georgii Acropolitæ opera.) Lips., 1866.

Νικολάου Δαμαλά, Περὶ ἀρχῶν. Damala—Scientific and Ecclesiastical Principles of the Orthodox Greek Church. Lips., 1865.

Ἀλεξανδριναὶ θεολογικαὶ καὶ φιλοσοφικαὶ Μελέται. Kalogeras, Nic.—Theological and Philosophical Alexandrine Essays. Part I. The Catechetical School. Pest, 1867.

Τὸ Θαβώρ. Joanpides, Benjamin, (Mount Thabor.) Jerusalem, 1867.

ART. IX.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES, AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN AND THEOLOGICAL REVIEW, April, 1868. (New York.)

- 1. Recent Improvements in Formal Logic in Great Britain. 2. Justification by Faith in Christ. 3. Christ and the Bible. 4. Calvin's Love of Christian Union. 5. Lay Eldership. 6. Early History of Presbyterianism in Morris County, N. J. 7. Jean Baptiste Massillon. 8. Nationalism.

BAPTIST QUARTERLY, April, 1868. (Philadelphia.)—1. The Theanthropic Life of Christ. 2. Celsus's Attack upon Christianity. 3. Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem. 4. The Christian Sabbath. 5. The History of the Christian Commission. 6. Dissent on the Communion Question.

BIBLICAL REPERTORY AND PRINCETON REVIEW, April, 1868. (Philadelphia.)—

1. Truth, Charity, and Unity. 2. Mathematics as an Exercise of the Mind. 3. Representative Responsibility. 4. Lord's Old Roman World. 5. Whitney on Language. 6. Spectral Appearances; their Causes and Laws.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, April, 1868. (Andover.)—1. Free Communion. 2. The Natural Theology of Social Science. 3. Revelation and Inspiration. 3. The Irish Missions in the Early Ages. 5. *Ἡ Βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ or τῶν Οὐρανῶν*.

EVANGELICAL QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1868. (Gettysburg.)—1. Revivals.

2. Advanced Growth in Grace. 3. Confessional et Extra-Confessional. 4. Schmid's Dogmatic Theology. 5. Life and Labors of Francke. 6. The Resurrection of the Body. 7. The Threefold Writing on the Cross.

FREEWILL BAPTIST QUARTERLY, April, 1868. (Dover.)—The Blessedness of Giving, as Compared with that of Receiving. 2. The Hebrew Lawgiver. 3. The Age of Louis XIV. in Church History. 4. Cowley's Exposition of Daniel. 5. Regeneration. 6. Esther. 7. The Millennium. 8. The Philosophy of Divine Worship.

NEW ENGLANDER, April, 1868. (New Haven.)—1. The Present State of Philosophy. 2. A Museum of Christian Art. 3. Review of Robert Collyer's Sermons on Nature and Life. 4. The "Princeton Review" on the Theology of Dr. N. W. Taylor and Presbyterian Reunion. 5. The National Debt, and the Obligation to Pay it. 6. Impeachment and Military Government. 7. Review of Prof. John A. Porter's Translation of the "Kalevala."

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, April, 1868. Boston.—1. The Metropolitan Board of Health of New York. 2. The Church and Religion. 3. Pompeii. 4. Hegel. 5. The Poor-Laws of New England. 6. The Translation of the Veda. 7. Quotation and Originality. 8. Boston. (Second Paper.) 9. Western Policy in China. 10. Expatriation and Naturalization. 11. Shakspeare once more. 12. Charles Dickens.

English Reviews.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, April, 1868. (London.)—1. The Swedish Reformation. 2. Scooto-Calvinism and Anglo-Puritanism. 3. The Temple and the Synagogue. 4. Recent Explorations in Jerusalem. 5. Mill's Reply to his Critics. 6. Ireland and the Irish.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, April, 1868. (New York: Reprint.)—1. The Positive Philosophy of M. Auguste Comte. 2. Western China. 3. The Monks of the West. 4. Technical and Scientific Education. 5. Bunsen's Memoirs. 6. The Irish Abroad. 7. Malleson's French in India. 8. The Disraeli Ministry.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1868. (New York: Reprint.)—1. Lord Macaulay and his School. 2. The Use of Refuse. 3. Robert South. 4. University Reform. 5. Lord Romilly's Irish Publications. 6. The Farmer's Friends and Foes. 7. The New School of Radicals. 8. William von Humboldt. 9. Purchase in the Army. 10. The Irish Church.

German Reviews.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR HISTORISCHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Historical Theology.) 1868. Third Number. 1. KIND, Philip Gallicus. 2. FICKER, The Monk Marcus, a Reformer of the Fifth Century. 3. SCHMIDT, Confession of Johann Friedrich the Magnanimous, on the Interieur. 4. SCHMIDT, Justus Menius on Bigamy. 5. SCHMIDT, Three Letters of Amsdorf on the Interim.

The first article of this number is a biographical sketch of one of the foremost reformers of Southeastern Switzerland. The second reviews the works of a celebrated monk of Egypt, Mark, called *Ἀσκητής*, and finds in them a theology substantially evangelical. In the fourth article a treatise of Justus Menius, the reformer of the Thuringian States, is given, in which he strongly condemns the second marriage of Landgrave Philip of Hesse. The treatise is interesting as a proof that not all the reformers of the sixteenth century could be prevailed upon by Philip to approve, directly or indirectly, the scandalous bigamy of this prince, who in many respects so well deserved the honor of the success of the Reformation. Most of the reformers were carried away by the desire to please a prince who to them appeared as a pillar of their cause. Even Luther and Melancthon spoke in a manner which could be construed by Philip as an approval. Bucer expressly justified it, and another Hessian clergyman, Luingus, wrote a special book in defense. The best that was publicly said against it was the book of Menius, which is here given entire.

STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Essays and Reviews.) 1868. Sixth Number. 1. BEY-SCHLAG, Address at the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Establishment of the Evangelical Union. 2. KOSTLIN, Calvin's Institutions. [2d Article.] 3. SLEITZ, The Tradition of the Labors of the Apostle John in Ephesus. 4. WILKEN'S, Review of Böhmer's Francisco Hernandez and Frai Francisco Ortiz. 5. MUHL-HAUSSEN, Review of the Posthumous Works of Ernst Friedrich Fink.

Among the traditions of the ancient Church on the latest period in the lives of the apostles that on the labors and death of the apostle John, in Ephesus, has hitherto been regarded as the most trustworthy. Doubts were expressed by Reuter Dahl, (the present Lutheran Archbishop of Upsala, in Sweden,) in his work *De Fontibus Ecclesiasticæ Eusebianæ*, (Lund, 1826,) who expressed the opinion that this tradition, like that of the exile of the apostle

to Patmos, might be an inference derived from the Apocalypse. But this view met with no approval among scholars. Even the Tübingen school defended the truth of this tradition with great tenacity. Only recently one of the foremost representatives of the "Liberal" Theological School of Germany, Dr. Keim, in his work *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, (Zurich, 1867,) has endeavored to undermine the belief of so many centuries in this tradition. He undertakes to prove that the apostle John died long before the close of the first century; that he never labored in Asia Minor; that the tradition relating to him is not older than Irenæus; that the latter confounded the presbyter John, the teacher of Polycarp and Papias, with the apostle John, and erroneously transferred information concerning the presbyter John, which he when a boy had heard in Asia Minor, to the apostle John. The denial of the tradition concerning the apostle John is next used as a new argument for denying the authenticity of the Gospel of John. Dr. Sleitz, in an elaborate article in the above number, undertakes to vindicate the truth of the tradition.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Scientific Theology.) Second Number, 1868.—1. HANNE, (Prof. in Greifswalde,) Ideas on the Origin of Man, Illustrating the Peculiarity of Modern Theism in its Relation to Supernaturalism and Naturalism. 2. HILGENFELD, The Psalms of Salomo and the Ascension of Moses. Restoration and Explanation of the Greek Text. 3. SPAETH, Nathanael; A Contribution to the Proper Understanding of the Composition of the Logos—Gospel. 4. HILGENFELD, The Gospel of John, and the recent works by Hofstede de Groot, Keim, and Scholten.

The Psalms of Salomo, eighteen in number, are an apocryphal book, which is important for the light it sheds on the expectation of a Messiah by the Jews. All the scholars who have examined the book agree that it was written before Christ; but while Ewald and others fix the origin as early as 170 B. C., other great biblical scholars, as Movers, Delitzsch, Keim, place it after the conquest of Jerusalem by Pompey, in 63 B. C. Hilgenfeld agrees with the latter opinion, and thinks that the book was compiled about 48 B. C. He traces the literary history of the book, and then gives the whole of the Greek text, for which a manuscript in the library of Vienna was for the first time specially compared. In a second article Hilgenfeld promises to give likewise, with a literary introduction and notes, the "Ascension of Moses," which, with the "Psalms of Salomo," and the "Fourth Book of Ezra," is the most important document showing the condition of this Jewish expectation of the Messiah at the beginning of the Christian era. The publication of these writings, Hilgenfeld thinks, will be the best refutation that the hope of the Jews for a Messiah had almost

wholly ceased at the beginning of the Christian era, and it will prove that it received a new impulse under the rule of the Romans.

In the article on Nathanael an attempt, entirely new, is made to identify this name with the apostle John. The article will be completed in the next number.

French Reviews.

BULLETIN THEOLOGIQUE. (Theological Bulletin.) April, 1868.—1. BABUT, The Theological System of Rothe. 3. WAENITZ, The Christology of Beyschlag and the Historical Christ of Keim. 4. E. DE PRESSENSE, Some New Manifestations in the Debate on Redemption. 5. BENAMET, The Commentary of M. de Mestral on Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus. 6. M. V., St. Paul and Slavery. 7. BALTAN, Bulletin of English Literature. 8. R. HOLLARD, Bulletin of French Literature.

A new feature of this theological periodical is the connected review of the theological literature of the prominent countries of Europe. In the three last numbers the theological literature of Germany and England for the year 1866 and 1867 has been reviewed, and the review of the French literature of the year 1867 is begun.

REVUE CHRETIENNE. (Christian Review.) March, 1868.—1. BOIS, The Gospel and Liberty. 2. PELET DE LOZERE, Charles I. and Louis XVI.

April.—1. GUIZOT, Christianity and Ethics. 2. PEDEZERT, A New Historian of Monasticism in the West. 4. LELIEVRE, Pantheistic and Christian Poetry.

May.—1. BERSIER, Sermon in Behalf of the Famishing Population of Algeria. 2. ROSSEEUW ST. HILAIRE, A New Poem on the Reformation.

The article by Guizot in the April number is a chapter of the third volume of his *Meditations*, which has since appeared, under the title, *Meditations sur la Religion Chretienne, considere dans ses rapports avec l'état actuel des sociétés et des esprits*. (On the Relation between Christianity and Modern Society.) From a note of the editor we learn that this great work will be concluded by the fourth volume, which will have the title, *Meditations sur l'histoire et sur l'avenir de la Religion Chretienne*. (Meditations on the History and Future of the Christian Religion.) Vol. I, (Meditations on the Essence of the Christian Religion,) appeared in 1864. Vol. II, (Meditations on the Christian Religion considered in its Relations to the Present Condition of Society,) in 1866.

ART. X.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Pioneer Experiences; or, The Gift of Power received by Faith. Illustrated and Confirmed by the Testimony of Eighty Living Ministers of Various Denominations. By the Author of "Way of Holiness," etc. With an Introduction by Rev. BISHOP JANES. 12mo., pp. 368. New York: W. C. Palmer, Jr. 1868.

THE title of this volume is unfortunate in that the aid of the preface is requisite to enable us to discover its significance. We there learn that the work is designed to set forth the experience of the grace of entire sanctification, by ministers of various denominations, as furnished the editor by themselves. Sixty-six of the seventy-nine writers are Methodists; the remainder are Congregationalists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Dutch Reformed, and Episcopalians.

Perhaps none of the experiences narrated can be read without spiritual profit; nevertheless, several of them seem to us to leave the question of the actual possession of entire sanctification insufficiently evident. In most of them its attainment is clearly recognizable, exhibiting a remarkable likeness in the experience with a great variety in the testimonies. While some are in too general terms for us to follow minutely their successive steps, and are therefore of comparatively little value except it may be for the establishment of a single point, in others the mental processes are so carefully analyzed and clearly stated that a candid inquirer may employ them in ascertaining the methods of the Spirit's operations. It was by a rigid, searching examination of some hundreds of experiences continued through several years that Mr. Wesley became able to practically guide his followers in this path, although he had accurately described the nature of Christian perfection five years previous to his own experience of justification. From particular instances he deduced the general law. So the testimonies in this volume have distinct points of concurrence, which are very justly presented in the admirable Introduction by the pen of Bishop Janes, and are in perfect harmony with the old Methodist testimony.

We most earnestly deprecate any appearance of divisions or parties among us on the subject of Christian perfection. Philosophically viewed, it may admit of varying explanations, in which scope may be found for the theorists of all degrees. But practically considered, no wine can be sweeter than the old wine of Wesley and Fletcher, which, indeed, is not of them, but of Paul and John. The endowment of power is by the Holy Spirit; and

the deeper the baptism the greater is the power. May the sanctifying Spirit be poured upon the whole Church, and, whether by a single baptism or many successive ones, may her members be made, as were they of the first days of her power, "of one heart and of one soul!"

Mrs. Palmer's part in this volume consists in the selection and abridgment of the articles presented, and the preparation of a preface of eight pages. The abridging pen should have struck out all allusion to "the Palmerites," for surely Mrs. Palmer cannot wish even to seem to confess herself the head of a party. Nor should it have allowed the principle to be repeatedly taught, that none but wholly sanctified ministers are prepared to preach the Gospel; especially when the book itself amply demonstrates the contrary.

Nor must Mrs. Palmer be impatient if, while her own vision is so clear, some ministers of Christ should fail to arrive at her conclusions. Her preface is, in fact, a lecture to ministers, in which with severity, we will not say asperity, she castigates "some divines of marked prominence in the Christian world" who, "unblushingly," "have dared to say" some things quite different from what either she or we would say. We regret the apparent temper of the preface. But its theory that the Pentecostal gift of power was "holiness of heart" in its technical sense, or that the gift of the Holy Spirit on that day bestowed entire sanctification, we do not accept. Nothing in the promises of Christ, the necessities of the case, the circumstances of the hour, or the narrative of Luke implies it. It was the sanctifying Spirit, indeed, that fell upon them, but in his regenerating and adopting power, as he now falls upon believing penitents, making them the sons of God, as all young converts are made now. On all truly-converted souls is bestowed the same "gift of power," whereby they may resist sin, conquer the world, and win victories for Christ; a power never known by David, Isaiah, John, or other devout Jews before the Pentecost. For such empowered conquerors there are further heavenly gifts which bring a purity from sinfulness and the fullness of God.

D. A. W.

Sermons preached upon several Occasions. By ROBERT SOUTH, D.D., Prebendary of Westminster, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. In five volumes. Vol. II. 8vo., pp. 531. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1867.

Dr. South was a High-Churchman, a high Tory, and a high Calvinist. Absolutism reigned alike in his politics and his theology. He believed in the divine right of kings to rule in absolute irre-

sponsibility to their subjects, and in the absolute rectitude of a divine government's decreeing sin and limiting the possibility of salvation to an arbitrary determinate number of human souls.

To this view of human sovereignty he was fixed by the surroundings of his birth and education. On the day of the execution of Charles I., he, then a young man, read prayers for the king by name. He was a court preacher through three reigns after the Restoration; and the places in which the sermons were severally, according to their titles, preached, such as Oxford, Westminster Abbey, etc., indicate the audiences who listened. But to his courtly audience, so far as stern religious teachings were concerned, he dealt no tones of soft and courtly complaisance. No hearer could be more regal than the preacher. For the time being the pulpit, though sustaining the throne, was greater than the throne itself. Courtly vice was compelled to sit under the most scathing denunciations; and the atmosphere, thick with the sensualism of Hobbes, had fine opportunities to be rarified by the thunder peals of Christian truth.

Against his doctrinal opponents on all sides, Papistical, Puritanical, Republican, Arminian, or Socinian, he speaks in what resembles a tone of personal hatred. His mind precisely squares with the religion by law of Parliament established, and against all who vary a hair from that remarkable model he deals out the most elaborate denunciations and artistically-prepared sarcasms. He has no delicacy or scruple against "political preaching;" and his sermons maintaining the divine right of kings to the passive obedience of their subjects are refreshing studies in these democratic days, when so largely the *voice of the people* is all, and the *voice of God* is nothing but its synonym. Even a philosophic democratic reader can see that, for its age, this doctrine of passive obedience was not without its favorable side. Kings, it was said, are the necessary conditions of order, their irresponsibility the necessary condition of their royalty; yet for that very reason kings are the most responsible of all men to God, and it becomes the duty of the priest to hold them to that responsibility, and of the preacher to proclaim it with a voice of unflinching thunder in the royal ears. We need not, as Protestants, deny that the sacred order often performed that duty with a most conscientious and successful faithfulness. It was in maintaining its own power for power and pride's sake, and asserting it with criminal craft and persecuting cruelty, that the priesthood forfeited its high place, and proved itself a failure as the proper governing power in the political world.

Sermons. By Rev. D. W. CLARK, D.D., one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Cincinnati: Poe & Hitchcock. 1868.

WE have here "Christianity in earnest"—Methodism expressed in a clear and manly style, and dressed in a handsome green coat. When Wesley said in the preface of his *Sermons* that he could no more write in a fine style than wear a fine coat, we suppose that he announced an asceticism which, however consistent with or required by his high personal mission, furnishes no rule for all. Indeed, severer to himself than to others in many things, he laid down this rule in its very terms for none but himself. Certain it is that many of his sons have, with apparently fair moral success and with a good conscience, found themselves able to do both. Bishop Clark's book is none the less valuable for its literary style, its tinted paper, and its green and gilt.

These are true sermons. They took existence from the actual demands of the people made upon the pulpit, and are addressed with striking applicability to the case before the preacher. They are not literary essays, nor moral theses, but eternal, biblical truths brought to bear directly upon the present moment. They are worthy a larger congregation than can sit before a single pulpit. Ministry and membership will find pregnant hints for thought, and rich alimnt for practical piety, lucidly presented in these transparent pages.

The sermons are eighteen in number. The first two are upon Methodism distinctively, and are staunchly but not bigotedly denominational in their presentations. They are well worthy the perusal of thinkers who would appreciate our system. Others treat of some leading point of evangelical religion, as Faith in God, The Supreme Affection, Insufficiency of Moral Virtue. Others touch the practical religious enterprises, as The Sunday-School, The City Mission, and Revivals. In one sermon on The Temple Built and the Temple Blessed, a dedication performance, he takes ground that the best art and architecture should be consecrated to God—"our offering should be the most perfect we can possibly render." We give an extract with our own italicizing:

There should, as far as practicable, be some correspondence between the object and the building. Why are your high schools, your colleges, your courts of justice, your State capitol, made to tower up in the grandeur of architectural proportions? Merely for display? No. There is a nobler purpose than this. It is that they may comport with the dignity of their design; may inspire in the hearts of the people a reverence for the majesty of science, for the administration of justice, and for the honor and dignity of the State. But what grander theme than that of the Cross of Christ? What science more profound or more majestic than the science of Salvation? What education of higher dignity or moment than that which trains an immortal for the skies? What edifice, on all the earth, erected by human hands,

should more deeply command the respect of the people, and in its very nature be adapted to command that respect, than that which is consecrated as the dwelling-place of the Most High. We are not contending for exquisite elaboration and expensive ornament in houses of worship. Far from it. The very opposite. Simplicity is the characteristic of beauty; it is characteristic of all the works of God. That beauty so delicately imprinted upon the architecture of the heavens above us and upon the earth around us is one of God's agencies for educating the intellectual powers and the moral sentiments of the race. If beauty is opposed to spirituality, why has God filled up his universe with the perfection of exquisite workmanship and symmetrical beauty? Our religion is emphatically spiritual; but when God has surrounded us with such wondrous teachings can we imagine that it must be clothed in rough and repulsive forms in order that its spirituality may be preserved? Can we imagine now, under the dispensation of the Gospel, any more than in the time of David, that it is a mark of spirituality for men to build better houses for themselves than they build for God? Nay, my brethren, the simple principle that *man's best offerings should be consecrated to God* has remained the same in all ages. This principle simply requires that *if we can build only the log church we shall select for it the best logs we can get*, and God will accept the offering and crown the humble temple with his presence and glory. Shame on the man who will select a better log, burn a better brick, or carve a finer stone for his own house than for the house of the Lord.—Page 418.

We add another passage in a different strain :

When the pillar of fire moved before God's ancient people the hosts of Israel marched onward, so now the Spirit of God is moving before the Christian Church, inviting her to march onward to the conversion of the world. The old barriers are being broken down, the old obstacles removed out of the way, and a highway for the Gospel is being opened up through all the dark places of the earth; and at the same time the power of aggressive action on the part of those to whom the dispensation of the Gospel is committed is immeasurably increased. What sublime discoveries in science, what striking improvements in the arts, have become subservient to the cause of Christ! The activity and power of intellect, the accumulation of wealth, and the unprecedented spread of the commerce of Christian nations into every part of the globe, and now the wonderful and wide-spread outpouring of the Holy Spirit, nerving the heart of the Church anew, and awakening and converting untold myriads, are so many elements of power and responsibility, all conducing to the same end. Christendom at this very moment, through ten thousand channels of power and influence, is acting upon and controlling the destiny of the entire globe, and the Church of Christ has only to prove herself equal to the emergency of the times, equal to the grandeur and glory of her mission, and Christianity will ere long be established in the ends of the earth.—Page 407.

Chemical Change in the Eucharist. In four Letters, showing the relations of Faith to Sense, from the French of Jacques Abbadie. By JOHN W. HAMMERSLY, A.M. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Marston.

Abbadie, the original author of the present volume, and author of a celebrated defense of the Christian religion, was a Swiss, born in 1654, was Pastor of the Protestant French Church, and finally Dean of Killaloo in Ireland. The present volume forms the concluding publication on the Protestant side, in the reign of Louis XIV., of a great discussion between the Jesuits and Jansenists on the Romish side, and the celebrated Claude in reply. The present edition is published in a quaint old English type, with an imitation vellum cover, and looks like a venerable relic of polemical

battles of near two centuries ago. The argument of Abbadie is very lucid, exhaustive, and—if any thing can be so called which fails to conquer the most extraordinary abdication of reason perhaps in the entire history of the human mind—demonstrative. The translator furnishes the volume with a preface and an addendum of notes, adding much illustration needed at the present day.

It is no one-sided Protestant prejudice, but the eternal truth of history which convicts the Church of Rome of being the bloodiest persecuting body the world ever saw. Nevertheless, the present generation could readily afford to forgive the crimes of her old history if the same immutable purpose of persecution where possible were not still predominant in the Romish heart. We would readily forego all "indemnity for the past" could we feel any "security for the future." At the present hour, however, wherever Rome has the power, and to the extent of her power, she exercises the same proscription of all religious liberty as she exercised in the dark ages. She is not necessarily opposed to *civil* liberty. Her ecclesiastical supremacy can tolerate, and even sustain and use, a democracy as readily as an absolute monarchy. It is religious liberty, the rights of an independent conscience, which she cannot brook. The assertion of the right of private judgment is rebellion against Rome, and her supremacy is its destruction; and just as truly so in the nineteenth as in the fourteenth century.

The Chapel Hymn Book. Containing over Four Hundred Hymns and Spiritual Songs; with the First Strain of the Melody prefixed to the Hymns. Designed for Use in Prayer-Meetings, Revivals, etc. Compiled by Rev. GEO. HUBBELL. New York: Tibbals & Co. 1868.

THIS little volume is prepared under the assumption that our authorized hymn book, when used in the prayer-meeting, "fosters a stiffness, formality, and coldness which tend to make the chapel an uninteresting and unpopular place." Care has, nevertheless, been taken to exclude doggerels and illiterate pious ditties. The work appears to be well done.

We pretend not to scientific musical taste, but our sincere opinion is, that cold and formal music, whether of hymn or tune, ought to be as thoroughly excluded from the church as from the chapel. True music is emotional; and the choir music that does not touch the emotions is an imposition upon the congregation. And our own feeling is, that the large amount of our church music, heard from our choirs, is just of this character. It has no power, and ought not to be tolerated. The music not fit for the prayer-meeting is usually not fit for the church.

FOURTH SERIES, VOL. XX.—30

Foreign Theological Publications.

Die Bergpredigt Christi und ihre Bedeutung für die Gegenwart. [Christ's Sermon on the Mount, and its Significance for the Present Age.] By HEINRICH W. J. THIERSCH. 8vo., pp. 138. Basel: Schneider. 1867.

This volume is a good specimen of the now rapidly increasing class of works designed to meet the objections to Christ's divinity by expounding his own words and showing the divine purpose and wisdom underlying them. The method is similar to Krummacher's late work on *David*, and the groupings are quite up to that high standard. The chapters are: Introduction; Beatitudes; The high Destination of the Disciples; Christ Fulfilling the Law; The Prohibition against Murder; The Commandment of Chastity and the Indissolubleness of Marriage; The Prohibition against Swearing; The Command of Perfect Love; Alms; Closet-Prayer; The Lord's Prayer; Fasting; Heavenly Treasures; Prohibition against Mammon Worship; The Prohibition against Judgment; The great Promise and the great Prayer; The Warning against the Broad Way and False Prophets; and, Doing the Divine Will. There were different stages in the labors of Christ; those of the first stage were designed to connect his own ministry with that of John the Baptist, so that the two would form a unit. The Jewish people had wandered from the law; the Baptist boldly declared their guilt; and Christ's first sermon was an exhibition of their positive duty in view of their transgression. The error of the Pharisees did not consist in their observing the letter of the Old Testament, and regarding it as sacred, but in holding ceremonies to be the end instead of the means for accomplishing the higher spiritual observance of the heart. The faith of the Church has become weakened by sheer neglect of the Old Testament. "In most Christian congregations, years pass by without a single passage of the Old Testament being read and expounded for the edification of God's people." This is indeed a remarkable statement, and if it be true—which we see no reason to doubt—the neglect of the Old Testament by German pastors will account for a large measure of the popular rejection of its inspired character.

This work is an evidence of what almost any Christian pastor can accomplish by working up his sermons into a useful volume. Many sermons and week-evening lectures bear upon a certain general subject and exhibit a design in common. Why may not young ministers in the United States follow the German example, or, still better, that of such Scotchmen as Macduff, M'Leod, Guthrie, (*The Parables* is an excellent example; New York, 1866.)

and Hanna, in thus converting their best sermons into treatises or essays for larger and different audiences than can hear them when delivered? There is a world of good matter that might be saved in this way, and thus an earnest pastor can speak through his book years after his death.

Du Doute. [Concerning Doubt.] By M. HENRI DE COSSOLES. 12mo., pp. 402. Paris: Didier et Cie. 1867.

In the February number of M. de Pressensé's *Revue Chretienne* there was an article on "Some late Manifestations of Catholic Piety," which was the first installment of an elaborate review of Father Gratry's *Life of Henry Perryve*. Besides this, there are several late Catholic works indicating a higher spiritual life and a clearer perception of the great theological issues of the age than we have been wont to see in that communion. The book of M. de Cossoules belongs to the same class, and we go a little out of our way to call attention to it because of its representative character. French Catholicism has become alarmed at the skeptical invasion of Christianity, and we have here an evidence that it is endeavoring to do its part toward resistance. The volume is divided into three parts, each being subdivided into chapters, as follows: Part One—Of Reason; Miracles; The Will; Freedom of the Will; and Liberty of Conscience. Part Second—Faith; Certainty; and Doubt. Part Third—Natural Faith; Liberty of Reason; Cultivated Minds; Obligation of Truth; Religious Law; and Humility.

The author, adopting the form of apothegms, after the manner of Hare's *Guesses at Truth*, and South-Side Adams's *Broadcast*, writes for those alone who have fallen into the prevalent habit of doubting every thing which is not clear to the understanding. He does not discuss the grounds on which one believes, but those on which he doubts. He holds that the proper way to understand Christianity is to study the whole life of Christ, and not simply to be confined to the verbal descriptions of the Evangelists. We do not measure Mohammedanism by the Koran alone, but by the Koran as explaining the deeds of the founder. The great mistake made by philosophers is their examination of Christianity by the philosophic method, which consists really in the examination of truths already taught and experienced. No wonder they have concluded that the religion of Christ is false. Faith is not contrary to reason, but above it; and it is always wrong to present them, or permit them to be presented, as antagonistic. Faith teaches us the moral certainty of revelation. Rational certainty demonstrates with certainty what a thing is; moral certainty demonstrates with

the same evidence what it should be. The domain of the latter is therefore the invisible and the intangible; and in this consists its grandeur. Instead of sacrificing the understanding, it is the highest and strongest expression of it. It is the supreme effort of reason escaping from all bondage of sense and justifying the apostle's words: "Faith is the evidence of things not seen."

Dr. Martin Luther's Sämmtliche Werke. [Dr. Luther's Complete Works.] 7 vols. Heyder and Zimmer. Frankfurt am Main, und Erlangen. 1862-1866.

Another attempt to perpetuate the memory and doctrines of the great Reformer. The editor, Pastor Ernst Ludwig Enders, of Frankfort-on-the-Main, has taken great pains to compare all the old editions, and the result is the most complete and accurate edition of the collected works of Luther. As the present installment contains only sermons, it is probable that the entire work will reach as many as fifty or sixty volumes before its completion. This will, however, be the best edition of Luther extant, and it will be long before another will be required. As an evidence of the undiminished demand for Luther's writings, we may state that the enterprising publishers of this edition are also engaged in the simultaneous publication of a magnificent edition of Luther's Latin works. So the wish of Luther, expressed in the preface to his works issued in 1539, seems further from realization than ever: "I would have been glad to see all of my books remaining in obscurity and going into oblivion."

Marcellus von Ancyra. [Marcellus of Ancyra. A Contribution to the History of Theology.] By TH. ZAHN. Pp. 245. Gotha: Friedrich A. Perthes. 1867.

A scholarly attempt to reconcile the diverse opinions of the early Church historians on the theological opinions and importance of one of the most celebrated characters in the great Arian controversy. Marcellus was a bitter opponent of the theology of Origen, and declared the latter to be author of all the confusion of Platonism, Hermetic, and Gnostic ideas of Christianity. This enmity between Marcellus and Origen is discussed at length, and Mr. Zahn decides unfavorably to Origen. He takes from the latter, and bestows on Irenæus, the honor of founding a sound science of Christian theology. The work is exhaustive, and is without doubt the best portrait of the much-abused and yet well-defended Bishop, who lived in one of the most stormy periods of the Church, and passed, like many of his associates, several times up and down, through all the stages of ecclesiastical preferment and humiliation.

Predigten und Amtsreden Namhafter Kanzelredner der Gegenwart. [*Sermons and Addresses of Prominent Pulpit Orators of our Times.*] Edited for Evangelical Clergymen and Congregations by Dr. BILLIG, G. STEINAKER and Dr. WENDEL. Vol. III. Pp. 244. Leipzig: George Wigand. 1866.

A very good specimen of the style of sermons preached by some of the leading pulpit orators of Protestant Germany. The method is generally quite different from that in use in England and America, but it is one from which some good lessons might be learned. Yet we would be sorry to see the German pulpit set up in this country. There is not vigor enough in it yet; but it is advancing every year. In the present work we find a suspiciously large number of the sermons of skeptical preachers; or, as they call themselves, "Liberal Theologians." There is one by Schenkel, who founds on Heb. x, 35 a sermon entitled, "That we as Christians should not throw away our Trust in the Moral Forces of Christianity." Of course every body knows what he means by that; reject the letter and adhere to the spirit: or, in other words, cast off Confessions, and think and believe for yourself. There is also a sermon by Réville, on "The Christianity of Jesus Christ."

◆◆◆

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Annual of Scientific Discovery; or, Year-book of Facts in Science and Art for 1868, exhibiting the most Important Discoveries and Improvements in Mechanics, Useful Arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Geology, Biology, Botany, Mineralogy, Meteorology, Geography, Antiquities, etc., together with Notes on the Progress of Science during the year 1867; a List of Recent Scientific Publications, Obituaries of Eminent Scientific Men, etc. Edited by SAMUEL KNEELAND, A. M., M. D., Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Secretary of and Instructor in Zoology and Physiology in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, etc. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Co. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1868.

The Scientific Annual for the present year is prefaced with an interesting summary of the "progress" made, with general views of the present state of scientific advancement.

The great event of the year 1867 was the Paris Exposition, an exposition unparalleled in its kind, and suggestive of volumes of earnest thought. The American share was to the eye diminutive; but when deliberately surveyed by the mind's eye compelled the candid confession of European judges, that America is ahead in fertility of mechanical invention; and thus transformed temporary disappointment into the highest kind of triumph.

In the ever-during battle between the arts of offense and defense naval warfare at present assigns the superiority to cannon over armor plates. Large American smooth-bore can send its four hundred and forty pound round shot through any armor plate in the British navy.

On the present "lull of invention" we have the following extract from an English periodical :

Several years have now passed without any really great invention—an invention capable of adding millions to the national wealth. The most recent are the Bessemer process, the steam-plow, submarine telegraphs, and Ransome's artificial stone; and among discoveries, the Australian gold mines, the Cleveland iron stone, and the American oil well. The great inventions—those which have not merely improved but revolutionized trade, are, within the last century, the steam-engine, with steam navigation and railways, textile machinery, electric telegraphs, and steam printing; and we think that the four inventions named at the beginning of this article are those which, among our more recent acquisitions, are best entitled, by their real importance, (although this is not fully developed,) to the distinction we have given them.—Page xi.

On future possibilities we have the following passage :

Who can reflect upon the almost immeasurable forces of solar heat and lunar attraction exercised daily upon our planet, and with visible results, without hoping, and indeed to some extent believing, that human ingenuity will yet find means for penetrating nearer and yet nearer to these tremendous mysteries of nature, and turn them into new channels for the good of man? With countless millions of tons of hydrogen in the sea, and of oxygen in the air, shall we not yet find means to burn the very waters of the globe, and literally set the river on fire? With millions of tons of carbon on the earth, shall we not yet convert it, by some means, into palatable and wholesome human food? And shall we not yet find cheaper and readier means of converting the vast stores of vegetable fiber with which nature abounds into comely clothing, than by the present infinitesimal spinning and weaving of thousands of yards of yarn to form a single yard of cloth? That we may yet navigate the air is hardly less likely now than was the navigation of the sea by steam seventy years ago. Future invention must give us cheaper food, cheaper clothing, and cheaper lodging. Past invention has not sufficiently secured these, and the condition of trade and of society is now such that a majority of the population, even when working almost continuously, can gain but a decent subsistence, without any practical advance upon their daily necessities.—Pp. xi, xii.

Agriculture by steam is making slow but promising progress; railways up steep ascents are becoming more practicable; artificial stones for building are already surpassing the natural article; petroleum fuel, even for domestic purposes, promises well. The fuel of the future will probably be not solid, but pulverized or liquid. On the constitution of matter Dr. Kneeland remarks :

The existence of a unit of matter, whether it be regarded as a hard, spherical particle, a center of force, or a vortex produced in a perfect ether, appears to be indispensable; some kind of molecular hypothesis seems to be necessary for the explanation of physical phenomena, and it is difficult not to believe that some connection exists between the physical and the chemical unity of matter.—Page x.

' Under what is called "biology," or science of life, we have a number of interesting items. One experimentalist has actually produced, by a chemical process, a quantity of what resembles the ultimate "cells" which constitute the elements of living substance; whereby it is assumed that the last refuge of the doctrine of a

so-called "vital principle" or vital force is destroyed. Alexander Bain's identification of mind as simply one of the forms of "force" is respectfully quoted.

We have the following passage from the *Westminster Gazette* on excessive muscular training:

Those who have gone through the severest training become in the end dull, listless, and stupid, subject to numerous diseases, and in many instances the ultimate victims of gluttony and drunkenness. Their unnatural vigor seldom lasts more than five years. It was especially remarked by the Greeks that no one who in boyhood won the prize at the Olympic games ever distinguished himself afterward. The three years immediately preceding seventeen are years of great mental development, and nature cannot at the same time endure any severe taxing of the physical constitution. Prudence, therefore, especially at this critical period of life, must ever go hand in hand with vigor, for the evils of excess outweigh by far the evils of deficiency.—Pp. 248, 249.

A very superior anæsthetic is said to have been found in the tetrachloride of carbon.

It has a pleasant odor, somewhat resembling that of the quince. We understand that anæsthesia is rapidly produced by it, (in some cases in the space of half a minute,) that the condition appears to be easily sustained with or without entire loss of consciousness, and that the effects pass off very quickly. There is not usually, we learn, any excitement or struggling before anæsthesia supervenes, and its use is not followed by the sickness which is sometimes so troublesome a feature from the administration of chloroform. A point of great interest in relation to the tetrachloride of carbon is the property which we are told it possesses of immediately allaying pain arising from any cause. In a large number of instances it has been successfully employed for the relief of headache. Dr. Smith has found it of great value in inducing quiet and refreshing sleep.—Pp. 253, 259.

Darwinism has, if we mistake not, received some very telling blows during the past year. It is, of course, a popular theory with lively magazine writers, as affording a large and novel field for fancy thought; but it is very palpably waning from the recognition of science, and must probably soon take rank with other development theories. Bischoff, a German anatomical writer, is quoted thus:

The assertion that the anthropoid apes are the direct ancestors of man, even if it were supported by any evidence, is contrary to the Darwinian theory rightly understood, for the extinction of the parent form is the direct consequence of the development of an improved form. The problem of organic nature is twofold. 1. The origin of the simplest original forms. 2. The causes and the mode of their operation, by which more perfect forms were developed. A great defect of Darwin's theory is, that he leaves the first question unanswered. Admitting that certain organisms must have been created, what right has he to say that other organisms may not have been created at intervals, even to the present time? Another defect of the Darwinian theory is, that no cause is assigned for the commencement of variation. To say that organisms have at once the power of transmitting peculiarities by inheritance and of spontaneously originating varieties is a contradiction in terms. Darwin's treatment of the second half of the second question is more successful. Natural selection and the struggle for life must henceforth be fundamental principles in any theory of development. Since no general cause is assigned either for the origin of life or for the commencement of variation, all

that can be considered as proved is, that certain forms have been produced by variation from certain other forms. The facts warrant no general deduction.—Page 262.

We have also the following on the differences between man and the ape:

As regards the brain, the gorilla's is the lowest of the anthropoid apes, since the brain does not cover the cerebellum, by which he approaches the cynocephali. It is not in his size and strength that we must look for human characters, but in the conformation of the hands, and just in this he differs considerably from man. The thumb is very short in the gorilla, and its muscles much reduced. The long flexor is replaced by a tendinous tract, the origin of which is lost in the tendinous sheaths of the flexors of the other fingers. It follows that the thumb has no independent movement of opposition. In the orang, though the thumb is shortened, it is still capable of an independent flexion; but this depends on a peculiar disposition which he had lately verified with M. Alix. In point of fact the proper flexor of the thumb is entirely absent in the orang; there is not even found that tendinous tract existing in the gorilla; but, by a singular contrivance, the marginal fibers of the abductor muscle of the thumb terminate in a tendon which is placed in the axis of the first terminal axis. The fact which establishes a great relation between man and apes is, that in them the optic nerves open directly in the cerebral hemispheres, while in the other vertebrates these nerves reach the brain only by the intermediation of the tubercula quadrigemina. This peculiarity may explain the existence of a certain conformity in the manner in which man and ape perceive their sensations. But it does not follow that there is an identity in the nature of their intelligence; for though the senses are subservient to the operations of the intellect, it cannot be said that they produce it. Man must be placed by the side of the ape, but only as an animal. Man is a being apart, just as all other vertebrata must be separated, as they cannot be considered as having originated from each other.—Page 269.

As to the antiquity of man indicated by geology nothing new is offered, save some expressions of opinion from Crawford, Agassiz, and others in favor of an immense past duration of the race.

According to M. Le Hon, the first appearance of man on the earth was after the epoch of *Elephas meridionalis*. In Europe he believes that he first appeared after the diminution of the ice of the glacial period, and after the contemporaneous upheaval of that continent, migrating from Asia to the newly-raised countries.—Page 317.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Life, Letters, and Posthumous Works of Fredrika Bremer. Edited by her Sister, CHARLOTTE BREMER. Translated from the Swedish by FREDR. MILOW. The Poetry marked with an asterisk translated by EMILY NONNEN. 12mo., pp. 439. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1868.

It is now nearly twenty-six years since Mary Howitt introduced to the English public, in her translation of "The Neighbors," the charming Swedish authoress, whose productions had already received the highest commendation both in her native land and in other parts of Europe. Until then but little was known in England, and less in America, of the literature of Sweden or the social life of her people. Such was the delight of the literary world with this volume that within the ensuing twenty months

Mrs. Howitt issued translations of some half a dozen other volumes, including all that Miss Bremer had published at that time. These works were immediately reprinted in this country, not only affording a new sensation to novel-readers by the freshness of their subjects and style, but presenting the beautiful family and social life of a people of simple, virtuous habits in a manner so refined and pure that the admiration of the intelligent and good was won for the authoress herself as one of the most gifted women of her time, and for the people whose every-day life she had described. Thus, chiefly through Swedish novels, have the American people become acquainted with Sweden, fulfilling Miss Bremer's own words, "The mission of the romance is to bring near each other far distant people and countries by a delineation of their inner life." In the same way, as if in payment of the debt, Mrs. Stowe's "Uncle Tom" and other American novels have made familiar to Swedish readers American homes, scenery, and social condition.

The present volume contains a biography of one hundred pages by the pen of her sister, an autobiography of sixteen pages, and, extending to only her thirtieth year, letters occupying a hundred and fifty pages, the remaining one hundred and seventy pages containing sketches and poems, most of which are here published for the first time. We are both pleased and pained by the sketches of her life; pleased by the simple frankness with which the story is told, and pained by the developments which that frankness demands in order to unfold her true character and history. Her childhood's home was an unhappy one, partly from the peculiar kind of discipline exercised in the family, and partly from peculiarities in her nature which her parents failed to comprehend. Restless—burning with desires to know and enjoy, and yet secluded from the outer world and all knowledge of it as it really was—of a lively, active temperament, and yet shut out from all activity—conscious of a growing power, and yet without proper opportunities of using it—she was unfitted for the practical duties of life. Through suffering she learned sympathy with the suffering. That she might have money for the relief of the needy and afflicted, as well as find an outlet for the workings of her soul, she employed her pencil, and at length ventured on the private publication of her first volume. Its success led to a second, the praises of which induced the lifting of the veil concealing the authorship, and from that day she stood forth as one of the most talented of the writers of Sweden. Her path was then made clear before her; she would give her life to labor for the benefit of mankind. For this she refused repeated offers of marriage, not doubting that she would

make a good wife, but thinking that as a wife she would not make a good authoress. She was true to her purpose. By her fictitious writings she always sought to teach the highest and noblest lessons. In educational plans and labors, and in efforts for the elevation of the position of woman, giving effect to what she had learned in her visit to this country, she accomplished much; and, had she been an American, she would have been with Mrs. Dall and Gail Hamilton on "the woman question," though true to her orthodox, evangelic, religious faith.

The "Letters" in this volume lay open her inmost soul, and exhibit her simple, child-like spirit. Those written to her sister overflow with the tenderest love, while they show the full brilliancy of her intellect. But those to other friends have a deeper tone and a fuller thought, as well they may, for they were written in her nobler maturity; still the same spirit pervades them that gave the charm to the works which brought her her early and wide-spread fame.

On the 31st of December, 1865, she passed away at the age of sixty-four. She had not lived in vain. The volume before us will be hailed as a memento of her by all who have known her worth.

The Huguenots: Their Settlements, Churches, and Industries in England and Ireland. By SAMUEL SMILES, Author of "Self-Help," "Lives of the Engineers," etc. With an Appendix relating to the Huguenots in America. 12mo., pp. 448. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868.

This volume must be admitted to a place among the valuable contributions to our historical literature produced by the patient researches of recent times. The object of the author is to set forth the causes which led to the migration of French Protestants into England after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and to trace its effects upon English industrial, religious, and political history. The period covered by the narrative has employed many acute minds and graceful pens, and the persecutions of the Huguenots have by others been most touchingly described; but the field traversed by Mr. Smiles is comparatively new and unexplored. His investigations have been carefully made, and are lucidly presented in the present volume. He writes in a clear, vigorous style, with an elegant pen, and in full sympathy with his subject.

When Gutenberg, in 1450, published the Bible, the first book printed with metal types, purely as a printer's speculation, he little thought how greatly he was contributing to change the course of the world's history. One of Gutenberg's Bibles, that Luther found at Erfurt, begot the Reformation. The Bible trans-

lated into French taught France the Gospel, made multitudes of her people, including men of rank, of learning, and of arms, "Gospellers," "Religionaries, or Those of The Religion"—Huguenots, as they came to be nicknamed, a term which, like others we wot of, has become a crown of glory—and created a great political power in the State. Rome's favorite mode of defending the faith, as illustrated by the most fearful persecutions and fiendish massacres, even against the authority of law and the faith of treaties, is described in this history with sufficient fullness to show the course of the events which compelled the flight of the Huguenots.

Across the Channel was an island inhabited by a pastoral people, industrious and energetic, but without the skill to even manufacture their own wool, that had afforded a refuge from tyranny to Flemish artisans, and thus laid the foundations of its future greatness. The religious persecutions of the sixteenth century sent over to England a huge wave of French and Flemish, though chiefly the latter, larger than had flowed from the continent since the Saxon invasion; and a century later a second, consisting almost wholly of French Huguenots, who carried with them their intelligence, their industry, their arts, their skill, and their religion. Louis XIV. had determined that France should be wholly Papist, and to accomplish his purpose he robbed his kingdom of nearly a million of its best and most industrious subjects; death and exile receiving about equal numbers. A hundred and twenty thousand are supposed to have gone to England, where a wise policy welcomed them with open arms. Among them were eminent scholars, learned divines, renowned warriors, and a few wealthy merchants, as well as thousands of men skilled in every branch of industry. They made their adopted home, thenceforth, the producer of what it had previously bought, and by so much they enriched it and added to its power. These emigrations, compelled by persecuting Rome, thus built up a great Protestant nation, the mother of another destined to be greater than herself—the two together to become the great missionary nations of the world. And what England gained France lost by her folly—a folly unequalled except by the projects of so-called statesmen two centuries later, who would expel from their native land four millions of its laborers, and for no better reason than the unpleasant color of their skin.

Mr. Smiles gives us some interesting personal sketches drawn with the hand of a master. He takes us to the Huguenot settlements in England and Ireland; he shows us stern warriors rallying

to the standard of William of Orange, and upholding the English throne; he points us to scores of French Churches planted by the emigrants; he exhibits to us names of their descendants renowned in science, theology, arts, and arms, and in the lists of the British peerage; and he amply demonstrates that the infusion of Huguenot blood was the beginning of a new career to the land of their adoption. Huguenotism has lost most of its distinctiveness by melting away into English life and itself becoming English, thus adding one more element to that strange commixture known as the British nation.

The concluding chapter, describing the effect upon France of the banishment of her Huguenots, is in the highest style of the historian, and possesses a profound interest. Few passages of any writer surpass it in comprehensiveness of thought or eloquence of expression. It portrays the disappearance of her great men; the destruction of civil and religious liberty; "emptiness," as Carlyle says, "of pocket, of stomach, of head, and of heart;" the ascendancy of the Voltaires, the Rosseaus, and the Diderots; and finally, Sansculottism and the Reign of Terror, the Revolution of 1789 in terrible retribution for the Revocation of 1685.

The Appendix, by G. P. Disosway, Esq., presents many interesting facts in relation to the settlement of the Huguenots in our own country with which Americans should be better acquainted. It adds much to the value of the volume. The book is handsomely executed by the publishers, in beveled boards and morocco cloth, with firm paper, beautiful type, and ornamented back; indeed, in their very best style.

D. A. W.

Politics, Law, and General Morals.

Bacon's Essays. With Annotations by RICHARD WHATELY, D.D., and Notes and a Glossarial Index, by FRANKLIN FISKE HEARD. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1868.

BACON and Whately, side by side as text and commentary, strikingly present to us the difference between wisdom and shrewdness. The former presents us maxims striking from their profundity, lying deeper than common intellect can fathom; the latter develops truths startling from their unexpectedness, but rather lurking concealed by some popular prejudice than lying deeply in the nature of things. The former thinks as does the common-sense mind, but with a much further reach; the other thinks nearer the surface, but out of the ordinary line. The former

is original, the latter unique. The former discloses fundamental truths, the latter exposes conventional errors. The ability of Whately in his way is ample enough to exempt him from the charge of presumption in daring to annotate Bacon; at any rate, if we are to wait for a Bacon to illustrate a Bacon the Chancellor will long want a commentator. But we can say something better than this for Whately, and therefore for the present edition of the *Essays*. He excels in bringing out the solid ingots of Bacon into manifold applications to practical life and to the affairs of our modern age. The thinker, writer, or speaker will continually find suggestive thoughts coming across the questions of the present hour.

Some specimens of Whately's doctrines we may condense into the following propositions: Paganism is really Atheism. Skepticism is as persecuting as faith. Unreasonable disbelief is credulity. The priests do not make religions, but the people make both the made religions and the priests. He who believes all alike dishonest is likely to choose his confidants without discrimination, and so be betrayed. Sacred and pure things, from their very sacredness and purity, are very susceptible of ridicule from the ease with which they may be so placed in that sudden association with their opposites as to present the incongruity which produces laughter. Such ridicule is a real compliment to their genuine nature.

Turning from the commentary to the text, we may say that Bacon's mind was as truly intuitive as it was inductive. He had that faith in the good, the true, and the divine, which did not indeed wholly save him from sad aberrations, but, nevertheless, constituted the highest nobleness of his nature. While we find in Whately shrewd, subtle, and unique remarks on men and things, we seem to find in Bacon the intuitive disclosure of eternal truths, the occult axioms that lie at the base of morals and religion. There ought to be so extensive a class of minds in our country to welcome this work as to exhaust many large editions. The material and external style of the volume are so handsome as to do no dishonor to Bacon.

The solid, massy English of Bacon is happily illustrated in Whately's preface by placing it in contrast with the nebulous style of the pseudo-transcendental writers of the present hour. Extracts from this class of literary charlatans are given, admirable specimens of the transcendently silly, the silliest of all being quoted from that notable fools' idol, Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Miscellaneous.

- A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures.** Critical, Doctrinal, and Homiletical, with Special Reference to Ministers and Students. By JOHN PETER LANGE, D.D., in Connection with a number of Eminent European Divines. Translated from the German, and Edited, with Additions, by PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., in Connection with American Scholars of various Evangelical Denominations. Vol. I, Genesis, or the First Book of Moses, together with a General Theological and Homiletical Introduction to the Old Testament. By John Peter Lange, D.D., Professor in Ordinary of Theology in the University of Bonn. Translated from the German, with Additions, by Professor TAYLER LEWIS, LL.D., Schenectady, New York, and A. GOSMAN, D.D., Lawrenceville, New Jersey. 8vo., pp. 665. Vol. VI, of the New Testament. (First and Second Corinthians.) The First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians. By CHRISTIAN FRIEDRICH KLING, Doctor of Theology, and Late Dean of Nearbach, on the Neckar. Translated from the Second Revised German Edition, with Additions, by DANIEL W. POOR, D.D., Pastor of the High-street Presbyterian Church, Newark, New Jersey. 8vo., pp. 364. The Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians. By CHRISTIAN FRIEDRICH KLING, Doctor of Theology, and Late Dean of Nearbach, on the Neckar. Translated from the Second Revised German Edition, with Additions, by CONWAY P. WING, D.D., Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Carlisle, Pa. 8vo., pp. 220. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1868.
- A Treatise on Meteorology.** With a Collection of Meteorological Tables. By ELIAS LOOMIS, LL.D., Professor of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy in Yale College, and Author of a "Course of Mathematics." 8vo., pp. 313. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868.
- Harper's Phrase Book;** or, Hand-book of Travel-talk for Travelers and Schools. Being a Guide to Conversations in English, French, German, and Italian, on a New and Improved Method. Intended to accompany "Harper's Hand-book for Travelers." By W. PEMBROKE FETRIDGE, author of "Harper's Hand-book." Assisted by Professors in Heidelberg University. With Precise and Explicit Rules for the Pronunciation of the Different Languages. Square 12mo., pp. 309. New York: Harper & Brothers. Paris: Galignani & Co. London: Sampson Low & Son. 1868.
- David the King of Israel:** A Portrait drawn from Bible History and the Book of Psalms. By FRIEDRICH WILLIAM KRUMMACHER, D.D., author of "Elijah the Tishbite," etc. Translated, under the Express Sanction of the Author, by Rev. M. G. EASTON, M.A. 12mo., pp. 518. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868.
- The Works of Charles Dickens.** With Illustrations by George Cruikshank, John Leach, and H. R. Browne. Pickwick Papers, pp. 326. Barnaby Rudge, pp. 257. Sketches, by Boz, pp. 194. 1 vol. 12mo. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1868.
- American Edition of Dr. William Smith's Dictionary of the Bible.** Revised and Edited by Professor H. B. HACKETT, D.D., with the Co-operation of EZRA ABBOTT, A.M., A.A.S., Assistant Librarian of Harvard University. Parts IX and X, pp. 112 each. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1868.
- Sunday-School Organization;** Including Statements of the Powers of Sunday-School Societies in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Duties of Sunday-School Officers and Teachers. By DANIEL WISE, D.D. 18mo., pp. 30. New York: Carlton & Lanahan. 1868.
- "Is it Honest?"** Eight Questions by Father Hecker, one of the Paulist Fathers of New York City, with Answers thereto. By H. MATTISON, D.D. Designed for all Good Catholics. 16mo., pp. 39. New York: N. Tibbals & Co. 1868.
- Christian Adventures in South Africa.** By Rev. WILLIAM TAYLOR, of the California Conference. Author of "California Life Illustrated," "Address to Young America," "Seven Years' Street Preaching in San Francisco," "Reconciliation; or, How to Be Saved," "The Model Preacher," etc. 12mo., pp. 557. London: Jackson, Walford, & Hadden. New York: Carlton & Lanahan.

- Sabbath Chimes*; or, Meditations in Verse for the Sundays of a Year. By W. MORLEY PUNSHON, M.A. 12mo., pp. 223. New York: Carlton & Lanahan. 1868.
- The Massacre of St. Bartholomew.* Preceded by a History of the Religious Wars in the Reign of Charles IX. By HENRY WHITE. With Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 497. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868.
- The Old World in its New Face.* Impressions of Europe in 1867-1868. By HENRY W. BELLOW. Vol. I. 12mo., pp. 454. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- Human Life in Shakspeare.* By HENRY GILES, Author of "Illustrations of Genius," etc. 16mo., pp. 286. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1868.
- The History of the Great Republic,* considered from a Christian Stand-point. By JESSE T. PECK, D. D. With thirty-four fine steel portraits. 8vo., pp. 710. New York: Broughton & Wyman. 1868.
- The Calm Hour.* By L. M. M., Author of "The Fountain Sealed." 12mo., pp. 254. London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co., 32 Paternoster Row.
- Instant Glory;* with a short Biographical Notice of the late Mrs. Winslow. By OCTAVIUS WINSLOW, D.D. 48mo., pp. 125. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1867.
- The Word of God Opened;* its Inspiration, Canon, and Interpretation considered and illustrated. By Rev. BRADFORD K. PEIRCE. 16mo., pp. 223. New York: Carlton & Lanahan.
- The American Annual Cyclopædia and Register of Important Events of the Year 1867.* Embracing Political, Civil, Military, and Social Affairs, Public Documents, Biography, Statistics, Commerce, Finance, Literature, Science, Agriculture, and Mechanical Industry. Vol. VII. 8vo., pp. 799. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1868.
- Six Lectures Delivered in Exeter Hall,* from November, 1866, to February, 1867, at the request of the Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association. 12mo., pp. 186. London: James Nisbet & Co., and Hamilton, Adams, & Co. 1867.
- History of the Thirty-ninth Congress of the United States.* By WILLIAM H. BARNES, Author of "The Body Politic." With Portraits. 8vo., pp. 636. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868.
- The Spanish Conquest in America,* and its Relation to the History of Slavery and to the Government of the Colonies. By ARTHUR HELPS. Vol. IV. 12mo., pp. 456. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868.
- The Sunday-School Hand-book.* A Companion for Pastors, Superintendents, Teachers, Senior Scholars, and Parents. By ERWIN HOUSE, A. M. 16mo., pp. 320. Cincinnati: Poe & Hitchcock. 1868.
- Holidays at Roselands.* With some after Scenes in Elsie's Life; being a Sequel to Elsie Dinsmore. By MARTHA FARQUHARSON, Author of "Mysie's Work," "Allan's Fault," "Elsie Dinsmore," etc., etc. 16mo., pp. 367. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1868.
- New Poems.* By OWEN MEREDITH. Chronicles and Characters, Orval, and other Poems. In two vols. 16mo., pp. 507 and 518. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1868.
- Margaret.* A Story of Life in a Prairie Home. By LYNDON. 12mo., pp. 360. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1868.
- Discussions in Theology.* By THOMAS H. SKINNER, Professor in the Union Theological Seminary. 12mo., pp. 287. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph. 1868.
- Salome.* A Dramatic Poem. By J. C. HEYWOOD. 16mo., pp. 223. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1867.
- Union League Club of New York.* Its Memories of the Past. The President's Address at the Last Meeting in the Old Club-House of Union Square. Club-House, Madison Square. 1868.
- The Sunday Law Unconstitutional and Unscriptural.* An Argument presented in the Committee of the Whole in the Massachusetts Legislature. By NATHANIEL C. NASH. Boston. 1868.
- Three Little Spades.* By the Author of "Dollars and Cents," "Mrs. Rutherford's Children," "Caspar," etc. 16mo., pp. 268. New York: Harper & Bros. 1868.

Ancient Cities and Empires. Their Prophetic Doom, read in the light of History and Modern Research. By E. H. GILLET. 12mo., pp. 302. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Publication Committee.

A Popular Treatise on Colds and Affections of the Air Passages and Lungs. By ROBERT HUNTER, M. D. New York: James Miller. 1867.

Reunion with the Methodist Episcopal Church Defended. By Revs. C. PRINDLE, L. LEE, and L. C. MATLACK. Syracuse: Masters & Lee. 1868.

Norwood; or, Village Life in New England. By HENRY WARD BEECHER. 12mo., pp. 549. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1868.

Notice of the eighth volume of Lange's Commentary from Scribner & Co. postponed for want of room.

PLAN OF EPISCOPAL VISITATION—1868.

CONFERENCES.	PLACE.	TIME.	BISHOP..
EAST MAINE.....	Machias.....	June 11..	THOMSON.
COLORADO.....	Golden City.....	" 18..	SIMPSON.
GERMANY AND SWITZERLAND.....	Berlin.....	" 18..	"
ERIE.....	Warren, Ohio.....	July 15..	KINGSLEY.
DELAWARE.....	Philadelphia, Zoar Church..	" 23..	JANES..
OREGON.....	Salem.....	Aug. 13..	SCOTT.
DES MOINES.....	Council Bluffs.....	" 20..	SIMPSON.
CINCINNATI.....	Hamilton.....	" 20..	CLARK.
DETROIT.....	Ann Arbor.....	" 20..	AMES.
EAST GENESSEE.....	Bath, N. Y.....	" 30..	THOMSON.
IOWA.....	Burlington.....	Sept. 3..	JANES.
CENTRAL GERMAN.....	Evansville, Ind.....	" 3..	KINGSLEY.
NEVADA.....	Carson City.....	" 3..	SCOTT.
UPPER IOWA.....	Anamosa.....	" 3..	SIMPSON.
MICHIGAN.....	Three Rivers.....	" 3..	AMES.
NORTH OHIO.....	Wooster.....	" 9..	THOMSON.
SOUTHEASTERN INDIANA.....	Franklin.....	" 10..	CLARK.
INDIANA.....	Bedford.....	" 10..	KINGSLEY.
ILLINOIS.....	Quincy.....	" 10..	JANES.
CALIFORNIA.....	San Francisco.....	" 10..	SCOTT.
CENTRAL OHIO.....	Lima.....	" 17..	THOMSON.
NORTHWEST GERMAN.....	Galena.....	" 17..	SIMPSON.
MINNESOTA.....	St. Anthony.....	" 17..	AMES.
CENTRAL ILLINOIS.....	Washington.....	" 24..	JANES.
WEST WISCONSIN.....	Mazomanie.....	" 24..	AMES.
ROCK RIVER.....	Kankakee.....	" 30..	SIMPSON.
NORTHWEST INDIANA.....	Plymouth.....	" 30..	THOMSON.
OHIO.....	London.....	" 30..	KINGSLEY.
TENNESSEE.....	M'Minnville.....	Oct. 1..	CLARK.
WISCONSIN.....	Racine.....	" 1..	AMES.
SOUTHWEST GERMAN.....	Pekin.....	" 1..	JANES.
HOLTON.....	Chattanooga.....	" 8..	CLARK.
GENESSEE.....	Buffalo.....	" 8..	KINGSLEY.
SOUTHERN ILLINOIS.....	Du Quoin.....	" 14..	JANES.
GEORGIA.....	Atlanta.....	" 15..	CLARK.
NORTH CAROLINA.....	Not given.....	Dec. 10..	Not given.
ALABAMA.....	Murphree's Valley.....	" 24..	Not given.
INDIA MISSION.....			
LIBERIA MISSION.....			

CORRECTION.—By a note from Dr. DEEMS, of this city, we are informed that we were mistaken in attributing to him the authorship of "Ecce Ecclesia" in our last Quarterly. We cheerfully make the correction.